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## JAIR CHAYIM BACHARACH.

(Concluded.)

MEANWHILE, Bacharach's friend, R. Meir b. Judah Selke Grotwohl, of Frankfurt, had taken his place in Coblenz. This friendship ended in becoming a source of great comfort to Bacharach when his son Samuel Sanvel<sup>1</sup> wedded the daughter of Grotwohl. The wound that had been inflicted upon the heart of R. Jair was still fresh when this marriage was solemnised. Sad and full of grief, surrounded, or imagining himself surrounded by foes, and apparently forsaken by all, he eagerly grasped at the hand of friendship extended lovingly and reverently to him by his successor Grotwohl.<sup>2</sup> As in the days when they had promised in Frankfurt to interchange letters at least once a week,<sup>3</sup> and R. Meir had always heard news of Bacharach through R. Meir b. R. Moses Sofer<sup>4</sup> and R. Meir Stern,<sup>5</sup> so now a lively correspondence was kept up between the two friends drawn closer to each other by family ties. The intimacy with so great a scholar in the Talmud, the Cabbala and other branches of learning as R. Meir

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<sup>1</sup> יAIR, חותם יAIR, No. 31. Cp. the inscription in the old Jewish cemetery in Vienna, No. 339, where his son, Samuel Sanvel, who died in Vienna, 1721, is mentioned. According to this source he also received the name of Meir, after his grandfather, מאיר גוֹטוֹויל, [printed wrongly נונכד]. This son of R. Jair is called after his maternal uncle, Saul Samuel Sanvel Brilin; *v.*, the *Memorbuch of Worms*, p. 26.

<sup>2</sup> יAIR, חותם יAIR, in the introduction to *Resp.* 31.

<sup>3</sup> *Ib.*, No. 26.

<sup>4</sup> *Ib.*, No. 25, where Grotwohl calls him ר' משה ספריא רבא. *v.* also the beginning and end of No. 66. R. Moses died in 1687, and is the great-grandfather of R. Moses Sofer of Pressburg; *v.* Horovitz, *Frankf. Rabb.*, iii. 91.

<sup>5</sup> *Resp.* 27, and end of 75.

Stern, who took deep interest in his misfortunes, could also only tend to encourage R. Jair.<sup>1</sup>

But the true balm for his wounds was the unremitting study in which he persevered, learning and teaching at the same time with undiminished zeal. The post of teacher in Israel, that had been denied him in a congregation, was now to be granted to him by his writings: as he was prevented from bringing into play his activity in the sphere to which he thought he was born, he felt himself led to labour in another field for the benefit of the general public; he was, in short, impelled by the desire to become known by his literary labours.<sup>2</sup> Study became his consolation and his revenge, his weapons and his passion. Engaged in research and writing, he spent his time at Worms as an ordinary private person, being only connected with the external world by his pupils and his *Responsa*, which were asked of him both by friends and strangers.<sup>3</sup> His house was a house of learning—a retreat whither men<sup>4</sup> of the community eager for knowledge resorted, and pupils<sup>5</sup> crowded round to drink in deep draughts from the well of his full scholarship. There was formed a society of the members of the community to whom

<sup>1</sup> *Resp.* 66 belongs to this period, therefore R. Meir uses these words in the opening of his letter to R. Jair: יair אֶפְיוֹרִיחַ . עַל אֹוִיבַי יִתְגַּבֵּר : יַרְעַ אֶפְיוֹרִיחַ . כֹּל צְוֹרִירַי בָּהָם יִפְחַח . The words on pp. 70, 71b refer to his work that was put an end to by his expulsion from Fulda.

<sup>2</sup> *V.* p. 230b. <sup>3</sup> *e.g.*, Nos. 103-104 of the years 1677-8.

<sup>4</sup> *Resp.* 61 and 102.

<sup>5</sup> *Ib.*, p. 234a, where R. David Oppenheim eulogises his industry and his ability as a teacher: זֶלֶא פְּסָק פּוֹמֵי מְגִירְסָא נִמְמָ בְּלִילָה לֹא נָתַן חָנוֹמָה :—לְעַנְיוֹן כִּי נִיד תָּלַיְוָה לְמַעַלָּה מִמְּיִתְהוּ שְׁלִימָה וְנָסְפָּו אַלְיַי עֲדָרָי תַּלְמִידִים יִשְׁבַּ אַהֲלָ וּמִקְנָה קְנִין אַבְּיַי כָּל חָופֵס כִּי נֹוֵר אַשְׁחָוָו :—*Ib.*, p. 232b: מְפִי נּוֹצְצִין וְלֹא זָו מְכֹתְלִי בֵּית מְוֹרְשָׁתָו . בְּהַתְבּוֹדָת וּלְעַפְעָפָיו לֹא נָתַן בְּחָרוֹי חָמָד :—And R. Wolf Traub, *ib.*, p. 235a, observes: שְׁנִיה וְתַחְנוֹתָו דְּמַקְשִׁיבָה(ה)[יִם] לְקוֹלוֹ וְשַׁתְּחִילִי זִית לְשַׁלְחָנוֹ הַיְהָה(וּ) סְבִיבָו . וְלֹא מִשְׁתַּוקְעָה אַהֲלָ שֵׁם וּעְבָרָה.

he delivered daily lectures upon the Code of the Law by R. Joseph Karo, and a second one which he instructed in the Mishnah. In the evening he held a class to a third society upon the interpretation of the liturgy, which lesson alternated with the explanation of a passage from Rashi or the Prophets or Psalms. He also imparted instruction to a certain religious student of the mystic doctrines of the Cabbala.<sup>1</sup> But the flower of his time was devoted to the composition of the work that was to be called after his name Ez Chayim (the Tree of Life) to be divided into three parts, each containing three, or, more accurately, six sub-divisions, and embracing eighteen<sup>2</sup> different topics of Jewish learning. But as he saw that this encyclopædia would require more than two hundred sheets,<sup>3</sup> and there was no possibility of his being able to publish so large a work, he devoted his attention to his notes upon the first volume of the Code of Jacob b. Asher, the Orach Chayim, so as to present a specimen of the whole by the publication of this portion, which dealt with the ritual practices of Judaism.<sup>4</sup> Thus through his misfortune, Bacharach was destined to be the first<sup>5</sup> author of his family. But in spite of having good cause for his doings,

<sup>1</sup> V. Preface to *מוהרל"ש* *יאיר נתיב*. The mentioned here is perhaps R. Löb Schuch, about whom we learn more in the index of vol. IV. of his collected works, e.g.—: נ"ז [דינ'] י"ד דף קפ"ז שאלה ממהר"ר אהרון— משפייר שנהלכוו הוא ומחര"ל שוק בפי הב"י ב"יד סי' קפ"ט בקביע' וסת ותשוביתי דפי נדולים מעובר' וכו' ; נ"ז [דינ'] י"ד דף קצ"ט ממהר"א— משפייר שנתקשו ונחלכוו הוא ומחര"ל שבחיאור דברי הרשכ"א דרבב" ששמעון טוען שהוצרך לLOT ברביה ח"מ סי' פ"ז ע' ברך ה' דף ל"ב ע"א : נ"ז י"ד דף ר"ש עד קידושון שהוא (ש)שני עם החתן שאלה ממהר"ל שResp. 19 refers then to the son of hn"ל ע' ברך ה' דף ל"ט דפי נדולים— Resp. 163, in R. Löb Schuch, *נדפס* *חות יאר* or *חות יאר* mentions a society of clothiers who had their own teacher, but not probably in Worms itself.

<sup>2</sup> V. p. 230b, and preface to *חוט השני*.

<sup>3</sup> וְאֵם יְהִוָּה סְדוּרִים . אֲפִילוּ בְשִׁנִּים מֵאוֹת נִיּוֹת אֵין נְדוּרִים ; P. 230b ;

<sup>4</sup> See preface to this work, entitled ; also pp. 231a-232a.

<sup>5</sup> לא טוב אתה מאבותיך — In the preface to he remarks : אשר קתנו עבה ממתניתך לילך בגדרות ונטלאות ולעשות נוראות הלא

he held a confirmed opinion that it would savour too much of egotism to allow his literary productions to appear in his own name, whilst nothing that had been written by his grandfather or father had ever been published. He, therefore, set to work collecting the *Responsa* of R. Samuel and R. Samson Bacharach, which he resolved to issue, together with his own, as a *Threefold Cord*. But even this placing of his own works, as signified in the title, upon a par with the others, seemed to him improper, so that he determined to remain silent about himself, and name the *Responsa* of his grandfather and father, the *Twofold Cord* (1679), letting his own contributions pass unnamed and unnoticed. To the initiated, however, his part in the book was so evident,<sup>1</sup> that it caused his erudition to appear in the brightest light. As soon as the book was published, an invitation to go to Poland, where ample scope for spreading his fame could easily be afforded, was held out to Bacharach by Moses b. Shalom Friedmann, a brother-in-law of Tobias Moschides, the half-brother of R. Jair, who in his youth had been a pupil of R. Samson Bacharach in Worms,<sup>2</sup> and, on returning to Poland, the home of his father,<sup>3</sup> was appointed director of the schools by the nine communities in the district of Chelm. But Bacharach was not willing to leave Worms upon empty promises. He knew well that if anyone wanted him, they would find him easily enough. The community of Lissa, in Poland, had invited (1677) R. Aaron Teomim,<sup>4</sup> who, in this respect too, was more fortunate than he, to transfer his Rabbinate to their midst, but in vain. For many years Bacharach had buoyed himself up with the hope that some day the choice of some community would fall upon him, and often must his courage have risen

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המה הנבראים אשר מעולם ראשי יישובות ועמודיו נולה ולא יצא טבעם  
בארץ בהרפהת שום ספר :

<sup>1</sup> Cp. the testimony of approval of R. Süsskind Rothenburg to the *Chotot Ya'ir* in 233b. <sup>2</sup> *Ib.*, No. 92, p. 89b.

<sup>3</sup> R. Jeremiah Shalom b. Judah of Lemberg died in Worms; *v. l.* בבצ' על יד, iii. 20. <sup>4</sup> *בבכורים* i. 22.

when in his heart he compared himself with his spiritual chief; but now he saw how he had deceived himself, and on whose side fortune fought. Full of quiet resignation, he listened to R. Aaron, and although the tendency of his sermons was almost unbearable to him, yet he had to endure them, and to look on as fame spread his name upon her wings. But now Teomim became desirous of making an attempt at authorship. In 1675, when, immediately after the celebration of the first eve of Passover, he was stricken with an almost fatal illness, he had vowed, if he recovered, to write an exhaustive commentary to the Seder-hagada for his children, which should clear up all difficult points, and should bear the title of the *Rod of Aaron*.<sup>1</sup> In 1678 the book really appeared. All the methods that so much displeased Bacharach in the sermons of the author, an ingenuity that betrayed its own weakness, and in which general allusions took the place of truth, frivolous questions untenable premises, distorted quotations, vague references to the most unknown and undiscoverable passages from ancient literature, in fact, all the strange devices which disfigured his labours in the pulpit, found a place in this work. The simplicity of the text that was being explained contrasted sharply with the extraordinary style of the explanations: the art of rendering simple words inexplicable was carried to perfection in this book. But the untenable theories and the unnaturalness of the whole method, nay, even the introduction of the Pilpul into the region of sermons and explanations, were not the chief causes of

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<sup>1</sup> ממה אהרון, Preface. R. Aaron there also mentions his volume of sermons that was still in MS. וה"ביה יוכני לחדפים חיבורו הנדוֹל על כל החורה ועל חמש מגילות הנקרה בנדי אהרון. Bacharach, therefore, also knew this title, which fact has escaped J. M. Zunz, עיר הצדק, p. 145. S. Hosmann, in his *Das schwer zu bekehrende Juden-Hertz*, 1701, appendix, p. 45, only knows to quote **הַדָּנוּתָא** from the *Matteh Aaron*, "a book written by a Rabbi at Worms, named Aaron (who, after having been about six years in Cracow, died in prison, into which he was cast for some debts, as the Jews tell)."

annoyance to Bacharach. His keenest indignation was directed against R. Aaron's manner of supporting his statements by references to passages from other authors that he either misunderstood or wilfully perverted, and by quotations that were often utterly incorrect. This would have made him unhesitatingly throw down the gauntlet of challenge to R. Aaron, relying upon the example of the most noted men, who, out of their love for truth, did not shun a conflict. But again the thought of the position of the chief of the community restrained him. He<sup>1</sup> would certainly not have feared the excommunication which R. Aaron could have fulminated against his assailant; he was man enough to oppose it, and to reply with a counter-ban; but then R. Aaron was the Rabbi of Worms, and Bacharach a humble private person, who had to be cautious in his behaviour. The possible suggestion that it was all through jealousy of the successful head of the Rabbinate, and that the assertion of his incapacity as a preacher, was a case of "sour grapes," like the fox in the fable,<sup>2</sup> Bacharach could have afforded to disregard, being justly confident in the truth of his cause and his well-recognised and assured ability as a preacher; but the fear of personal motives being considered the source of his opposition withheld the brave man from taking public steps. He therefore determined to give vent to his anger in secret, but to hold his lance in readiness to defend the truth. Suppose it were again his fortune to leave Worms and be appointed to a Rabbinate! But even if this was not to be, still the time when truth would conquer must come, and then the seal that kept this book closed would be removed, and his testimony against

<sup>1</sup> A misunderstanding of Bacharach's words (בכורים, I. 19), in which he discusses the probability of an excommunication which he might draw down upon himself by his conduct, has misled J. M. Zunz (*ib.* 145) to invent the fable, that Bacharach had already before been excommunicated by R. Aaron, and had been stirred up to take revenge.

<sup>2</sup> In בכורים, I. 23, Bacharach uses the parable of the Cat and the Meat.

falsehood prove no idle word.<sup>1</sup> Scarcely a year had passed after the publication<sup>2</sup> of the *Rod of Aaron*, when the work of Bacharach attacking it was written. It was to bear the same name, but rather as a rod for the back of the perverse Rabbi, and to serve as a work in which the true meaning of tradition was to be set forth. The coincidence that the numerical value of this Hebrew title, and of his name, Chayim Bacharach, amounted to the same, was only a further reason for copying this title.<sup>3</sup> In the first part of his reply,<sup>4</sup> Bacharach collects the passages in *Teomim*'s book, which he attacks, quoting them accurately, but concisely, and in addition stating his real objections; whilst in the second part he undertakes the correction of the misunderstood references, and the proof that many of the citations adduced are either nowhere to be found or attributed to wrong sources. Only a man so marvellously well versed in ancient literature could have ventured to assert that a certain quotation was not to be found in the whole of the *Midrash* or the *Zohar*. The *Rod of Aaron* blossomed in secret. The object of its criticism was probably unaware of its existence.<sup>5</sup> It remained hidden in the possession of its author, who continually polished and improved it, and also made its tone gentler, and less severe. For, if he found nothing in the actual remarks of his attack that required alteration, he

<sup>1</sup> *Ib.*, 20.

<sup>2</sup> *Ib.*, 15, **לאור עדין בעת לא יצא שנה וככלותיה**.

<sup>3</sup> *V.* the appendix. The text has been omitted by Jellinek, I. 20). **ח'ים בכרך = 310 = מטה אהרן**

<sup>4</sup> It consists of 30 pp., and lies in MS. in the Beth Hamidrash of Vienna. Pp. 2-6 form the Introduction; pp. 6-17, the first part; p. 17, the conclusion of this part; and pp. 18-31, the second part. A page at the end seems to be missing.

<sup>5</sup> Owing to a gross misconception of Bacharach's words in I. 23, note 2, Carmoly, VIII., 24) has concocted a story of a ban that B. issued against R. Aaron and his works. The continuer of the *ודק*, David Reindorf, learnt the news of *Teomim*'s murder too late to be able to mention it in his work; he would not have mentioned a banned man.

was displeased by the vigour and violence of his own language, especially when the terrible fate of his opponent was made known to him. Ten years after he had composed his reply, Bacharach was informed that Teomim, who had advanced step by step, and had ultimately succeeded in being elected preacher to the great community of Cracow, had fallen a victim to a murderous assault. When he wrote an account of this sad event upon the margin of his book<sup>1</sup> he may at the same moment have struck out the bitter observations that he had been led to make in the zeal for his cause, and have thus tacitly adjured posterity to leave all his violent expressions unpublished.<sup>2</sup> Thus the relations between the two men never changed. If it was only a hollow peace that existed between them, at least it never broke out into open acts of hostility. R. Jair did not pass over his spiritual chief when, according to the custom of the time, he was seeking from the authorities in Germany letters of approbation for his book, *Mekor Chayim*,<sup>3</sup> that he intended to issue after his work of *Responsa*; and the approval of R. Aaron, though given in somewhat measured terms, yet contained sufficiently genuine and hearty praise and recognition of the author's merits. Nor did R. Jair lack appreciation and encouragement from other quarters. He had the pleasure

<sup>1</sup> In Jellinek's edition, the marginal note of the ten years was afterwards admitted into the text, I. 22. The printer's error of תמן' י"ט has led to the blunder in J. M. Zunz, p. 131.

<sup>2</sup> בכו"ם, I. 23. In the MS., p. 18<sup>a</sup>, Bacharach repeats this caution in a note on the margin: הריני נזר בחרם חמור כל מי להעתיק ב"ש להדפסים—דברי הן פה בחלק השני או בראשון או בהשומות יסיר ממנה כל דברי קנטורו' ודברים קשיים. וקצתם עשייתי רושם עיגולי סביב אבל לא על כלם מפני שקשה מאד לעשות כן כי ע"ז זה תשחח המליצה והמ"ט לא סני בלאו ה כי ומוטל על המעתיק והמודפסים לשנות הלשון שכחתי וישים לו תמונה אחרת עד כי יהיה השגה ותימה ונילוי מה שכיסה או הוסיפה או שינוי בלי קנטור. The most violent passages have really been noted in this way as here advised.

<sup>3</sup> חות' יair, p. 232<sup>b</sup>; the beginning of *Resp.* 155 mentions a criticism that was written of this work.

of receiving the most honoured rabbis of Germany and other countries, in his house at Worms. Thus, in 1679, he was visited by the most distinguished Talmudical scholar of his age, R. Gershon Ashkenazi, Rabbi of Metz.<sup>1</sup> The aged Rabbi of Bingen, Joseph Josel b. Abraham and R. Mordecai Susskind Rothenburg, Rabbi of Witzenhausen, in Hessen, were his guests in 1681, when he was thinking of publishing his book.<sup>2</sup> In connection with this work, he also appears to have left Worms at that time, and on his journey to have shown specimens of it to various friends, as, for instance, R. Enoch Fränkel, Rabbi of Hanau, and R. Jeremiah b. Judah, the District-Rabbi of Ansbach, in Gunzenhausen.<sup>3</sup> He was so determined to wait no longer before printing this work, that, in spite of a death in his family, he resolved, directly after the time of mourning was concluded, to journey to Amsterdam, and there superintend the printing.<sup>4</sup> In the collection of testimonials of approval that he possessed we have a full description of the way he was appreciated by the highest authorities, as well as of his connections with learned men.

It is no wonder, then, that his whole heart was intent upon the publication of this book. He had no other hope of greatness than the fame that this work would find for him; it was his consolation, this confident expectancy for the future. When the trials and disillusionments that he had experienced in life threatened to overwhelm him, when he was filled with grief at the thought that he was isolated among all his children,<sup>5</sup> having no one to continue his life's

<sup>1</sup> *Ib.*, No. 158, p. 145b; *v. Kaufmann, Die letzte Vertreibung*, p. 224 *sqq.*

<sup>2</sup> *חוות יאיר*, p. 235a, and R. Mordecai Susskind Rothenburg, *Responsa*, No. 13, p. 34a.

<sup>3</sup> *חוות יאיר*, p. 236b and 236a. About Fränkel, *v. Kaufman, ib.*, p. 196, *sqq.*

<sup>4</sup> M. S. Rothenburg, *Responsa*, p. 34b: *כִּי עִם לְבָבֵי בְּהִסְכָּמָה מִוחֶלֶת—לִסְעַת תִּכְף אַחֲר עֲבוֹר זֶם אִבְלוֹתִי לְקַיֵּם אַמְשָׁטָרָדָם הַלְּגָמָר בְּעִדִּי הַאֲלֹוֹת כְּהַרְמִים*, whom he names there, may have been his friend Moses Sofer, of Frankfurt.

<sup>5</sup> *חוות יאיר* *v.* *ib.*, p. 224, *sqq.*

work—the study of the law, then the longing to see his intellectual heritage saved from destruction, and to come forward with what he hoped would be a great and enduring work, naturally grew all the fiercer within him. He might well be pleased with the choice of his subject. With his accurate powers of observation, he had discovered a public literary want,<sup>1</sup> inasmuch as he aimed at expounding and exhaustively dealing with the ritual code of

בראותו כי הצביעו הזמן כמטרה להציג היגנותות בתלאות שונות וכל—: 231a  
 היום ישבע ריש ויפגעו בו ממכות הארץ ותחלואה ולא נתנו הזמן הובנד לאכול מוגדר מיטב הארץ ולהתענג בונחת פגנ' תענגוי הזמן אף כי בראותו ילדיו מעשה ידיו אינם מושלמים די מפקם מוספיקי למלא ארת מקומו ולתת כבוד לשמו  
 Similarly he also observes in the preface to the book חות יאיר בן מלא: ובאשר בע"ה נם בוה חספני ומומי כי אין לי בן מלא—: J. Kanreuther (in the *Israelit*, 1862; *Isr. Anzeigeblatt*, p. 181, note 1) has already pointed out Lewysohn's misunderstanding of this passage. The epitaph of Samuel Sanvel, which as published in the *Israelit* is mysterious, because it is undoubtedly given incorrectly, shows at any rate that this son did not follow in the footsteps of his father, and had much to repent of. Cp. *ib.*, p. 190; and 1863, p. 505. We learn about a second son of Bacharach, Samson, from a Scroll of the Law and its mantle in the Synagogue at Bucharest for the Asylum for the Aged (בֵּית מִחְסָה לִקְנִים), which mantle, tradition relates, was given by R. Jair. Rev. Dr. Beck, to whom I owe this information, describe the writing as being of rare beauty, the letters are of an unusually large size, and the parchment is about eight handbreadths wide. Upon the front of the mantle is the following inscription, that is rather difficult to read: ז"ג האלוף— מהර"ר שמשון בן הנאון המפוארם מורה"ר יאיר חיים ז"ל בכר"ז וזונתו הצנואה מרתה חיילה בת האלוף הר"ר יצחק ברין ז"ל תפסי לפ"ק כתר תורה לזכרון עולם יהי' הסית עם החתיק שלו back are the words, מהנאון המפוארם המחבר חות יאיר קנה הר' עזריאלי נרו יאיר בהמנוע מהר"ר אשר באט ז"ל בשנת תא"ז מעשה ידי בתו מי' שרה תחיה בת הצנואה מ' רבקה תנצב"ה Asriel Bot, a clothier, who immigrated from Tismenitz, in Galicia, into Roumania, and who adorned this Scroll of the Law for this Synagogue, that has been abandoned now for some six years, obtained the mantle in Freiburg, in Moravia, from some country-people. According to this, the remarks in the preface to the (שׁו"ת כה שור בכרמ"ז) Kolemee, 1888), to which Rabbi Ch. N. Dembitzer called my attention, are to be corrected. The letters שׁו"ת כה שור בכרמ"ז, which Rev. Dr. Beck explains to mean בכל דור ודור ought, perhaps, to be read בכרך.

<sup>1</sup> Cp. Dembitzer, *בלילת יופי*, pp. 57-61.

Jacob ben Asher, which had hitherto been rather neglected and cast aside. It may have suggested itself to him as an ideal in which his more fortunate rival in the same field, R. Abraham Abele Gumbinner, afterwards succeeded so well, namely, to put into the hands of his co-religionists a book, by means of which his name would be continually connected with their daily ritual life. But he seemed fated never to succeed. Was it, perhaps, the tidings that in 1681 Samuel b. Joseph had anticipated him with a commentary to the same book that appeared in Amsterdam,<sup>1</sup> or was there another reason that stopped his journey and the giving of his book to the Press? At any rate he was again the poorer for a hope, and the richer for a book that remained unprinted. How many things would he have said better than those who wrote after him; how many errors and misunderstandings others would have been able to avoid if his book had seen the light of day! But it was, at the best, a doubtful satisfaction that the consciousness of this thought awoke to him, a source of ever fresh displeasure, a continually repeated outbreaking of the wound of his ill success. He had not, however, altogether given up the idea of publication. For more than ten years he continued to hope in silence that his book would after all be printed. The number of letters of approval in his possession meantime went on increasing, and among them was that of the youngest of his friends, his compatriot and relative, R. David Oppenheim.<sup>2</sup>

Like a joyous promise, the gentle light of this rising star fell upon Bacharach's clouded life. The high esteem in which Oppenheim, when still at home, had always held the famous and revered scholar only increased during the years he spent as a student in Metz, in the Talmudic school of R. Gershon Ashkenazi, who was bound to Bacharach in indissoluble bonds of friendship. There thus arose between

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<sup>1</sup> In the preface to the *חוות יעקב*, he indeed only mentions the commentaries of Gumbinner and R. David Halevi, that appeared for the first time in 1692.

<sup>2</sup> *Ib.*, p. 234a.

these two men, who were separated from each other in age by the space of a generation, an intimacy that was maintained and strengthened by a learned correspondence. Oppenheim's questions and opinions were a source of interest and deep enjoyment to Bacharach,<sup>1</sup> as well as an opportunity for developing his own powers and exercising his intellect. It must have afforded him no little satisfaction to be able to instil rich seed into the mind of his younger friend, and to find him able, owing to his unlimited means, to make a reality of that to which he himself could only aspire with ardent zeal and all-embracing intellect—the foundation of a collection of manuscripts and books of Jewish writings in every branch of knowledge.

Besides this correspondence, that already in 1683 had become a very active one,<sup>2</sup> the numerous Rabbinical questions that he was incessantly receiving occupied the time of Bacharach, and showed him that, even in his position as a private person, he had risen to the rank of a Rabbinical authority in Germany. In this way he had the opportunity of engaging in a frequent interchange of opinions with such diligent students of the Talmud as R. Gershon Ashkenazi,<sup>3</sup> in Metz, and R. Isaiah Hurwitz,<sup>4</sup> in Frankfurt-on-the-Maine. He even held communications of this sort with the Rabbi of his community, R. Aaron Teomim, as they both often had occasion to express their opinions about the same matter, even as late as the year 1687.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Ib.*, p. 212b. תורתו של הנאון נר"ז שיעשו ושמחה לבי ואגב חביבות' יתרת' וגנעוע' שיש לדוד' לי ואני לו לכן מטיבות' וגנותנות' ונטילת רשות והרמנא אמינה מה שיש להנדו קצת בדרכיו לא כמישב רק במתענן. ומשתעשע במתוק צוף אמריו כי נעמו

<sup>2</sup> No. 23. as we learn from the manuscript *Responsa* (IV. 3) of R. David Oppenheim, from the words ס"ז שנות זכיות לפך פה לנצברוג by him to B. as early as 1683. The heading in it runs as follows:— אל Ach בלבנון חריף ושנון אף בפתחי נידה וקינון ותלמודו מסודר ושגור בפיו במונה על תמהוי וקבון. אחריתו מנוון בצל שדי יהלון. עד ביאות שמו ינון. ה"ה הנאון המופלא ע"ה פ"ה נ"י כי"ש מורה ר' יאיר חיים נר"ז.

<sup>3</sup> E.g. Nos. 86-7.

<sup>4</sup> Nos. 115, 117.

<sup>5</sup> No. 125.

Thus, year after year of Bacharach's life was spent in useless waiting and deceptive hopes, until a change in the state of public affairs, which had hitherto brought him but little advantage, now threatened to destroy the little home of the hermit, who had seemed forgotten by the world. The French had forced their way into the Palatinate; every day brought the dreadful tidings of new conquests and struggles. All the cities in turn opened their gates to the invaders; all resistance was futile; and when so many stronger fortresses had been compelled to surrender, no choice remained for Worms but to do the same. On the 1st of October, 1688, the enemy appeared before the city; the terms of capitulation were signed,<sup>1</sup> and Worms became a French town. For the Jewish community this conquest brought special dangers, besides the distress that was felt by all alike. Every dealing of the Jews with the enemy was looked upon as treachery, which seemed to be completely proved by the more humane treatment that they received from them.<sup>2</sup>

In this storm-charged atmosphere it was more a deliverance than a promotion for R. Aaron Teomim, the Rabbi of a congregation now in such a precarious condition, when one of the largest Jewish communities, that of Cracow, just at this time invited him to become their Rabbi.<sup>3</sup> He had witnessed enough misery in his rabbinate, but he was spared the worst part. A general depreciation in the value of goods set in, and those who could obtain purchasers for half the usual price<sup>4</sup> might consider themselves fortunate. The consternation that was caused by the sudden predatory

<sup>1</sup> F. Soldau, *Die Zerstörung der Stadt Worms im Jahre 1689*, p. 7.

<sup>2</sup> *Ib.*, pp. 9, 10, 13, 21.

<sup>3</sup> Owing to a misprint in תְּמִימָן for בְּכָרִים, I., 22, of *תְּמִימָן*, J. M. Zunz, in *עיר הצדק*, p. 131, causes R. Aaron to remain in Germany three years before entering upon the Rabbinate of Cracow. On Sunday, the 5th of June, 1689, י"ז סיון [read א' י"ז סיון], R. Aaron, then in Hamburg, had only heard of the dangers that were impending in Worms, but not yet of the final catastrophe, *v. אָבִן הַשָּׁהָם, Resp.* 65.

<sup>4</sup> According to חותם יאיר, No. 44.

inroad of the enemy produced a wild state of confusion. Everyone began to try to rescue and hide all the movable property he could snatch from the plunderers; panic seized the inhabitants of the villages, who hurried into the towns, whither they had often conveyed their goods, with bundles on their backs, without having even received the customary permission to enter.<sup>1</sup> But loss of property and panic were only the forerunners of complete destruction. And in all this no one was more unfortunate than Bacharach, whose last hope was now frustrated. If after the departure of R. Aaron he might have indulged for a moment in a vision of hope, seeing that in the absence of a Rabbi all rabbinical questions upon communal matters were submitted to him,<sup>2</sup> his expectations of the fulfilment of his desire that now seemed so close at hand were utterly shattered when annihilation began to threaten his congregation. Louvois had issued the command, that all towns that could not be held by troops should be converted into a heap of ruins. The Palatinate became a scene of desolation; so many blossoming lives, so many famous reminiscences, so much human fortune and industry, culture and art—all found a grave in the flames that rose to heaven. Whit Tuesday, the 31st of May, 1689, was the fateful day for Worms.<sup>3</sup> In the afternoon, when the hour of four had struck, the signal for the destruction of the town was given, and it was set fire to from all sides. In the general ruin the Judengasse,<sup>4</sup> with its historical memorials, the jewels

<sup>1</sup> *Ib.*, No. 165.

<sup>2</sup> I infer this from the end of No. 213.

<sup>3</sup> R. David Oppenheim (in *אבן השם*, *Resp.* 66) mentions distinctly יומן לסדר ויקרא שם המקומות בעריה [שם המקומם תבערה] כי בער בם אש ה', Tuesday; [read יאיר], with the week, described in words taken from Numb. xi. 3, as the day of the conflagration. If Bacharach (*חות יאיר*, p. 125a) names Wednesday (*ביום ד' י"ג סיון תמ"ט*) as this day, he must have had in his mind the day when the burning of the town was finished; *v. Soldau, ib.*, p. 28.

<sup>4</sup> We have distinct evidence against the assertion of Lewysohn (Frankel's *Monatsschrift*, 17, 361) that he regards as historical that only "the Judengasse remained undestroyed." Thus R. David Oppenheim (*ib.*) ob-

of its past that had been preserved with so much pious care, also sank in the flames. The synagogue, with its so-called prayer-chamber of Rashi became a heap of ashes. The congregation was scattered in all possible directions.<sup>1</sup> Each one fled to the place where he hoped to find shelter and maintenance, some even over the Rhine, although the enemy had only indicated the towns outside of France that might serve as an asylum.<sup>2</sup> In the first moment of terror Bacharach had fled with his family to Metz, where he hoped to find shelter with his friend, R. Gershon Ashkenazi, and his kinsman, Grotwohl.<sup>3</sup> His younger son, Samson, who was named after his father, must have left Worms before the invasion, as we find R. Jair composing for him a poetical narrative of this sad period and its calamities.<sup>4</sup>

Thus the oldest community of the German Jews disappeared from the face of the earth. It was a community possessed of venerable and strong traditions, with numerous customs peculiar to itself<sup>5</sup> and marked by a vigorous piety, that was thus swept away. How could the sundered

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נשְׁרָף המִקְומָם וְהַרְחֹב שֶׁל הַיְהוּדִים וַיְרִמְיוֹא עִם עֲקָרָה — serves: וְשֶׁרֶשֶׁה עִם המִקְדָּשׁ מַעַט נִמְצָא בָּהֶכְ' שֶׁל רְשִׁי וְלִיל וְכָל בֵּית יִשְׂרָאֵל יִכְּבָרֵן אֶת הַשְּׁרִיפָה. In the document of agreement between the community and the city of Worms, of the 7th of June, 1699, occurs the phrase, "In the present re-building of the citie of Wormbs and also of the *utterly ruined Jews'-street*"; v. Wolf, *Zur Geschichte der Juden in Worms*, p. 96.

בְּנֵי קֶ'ק תּוֹבָב שְׁנַתְפּוֹרוֹ כְּבָמוֹרָה; חֹות יָאִיר<sup>1</sup> (according to the words in Jer. xv. 7).<sup>2</sup> Soldau, *ib.*, 24.

בְּקֶ'ק מִיעֵן אִשְׁר לְהָם [לְשָׁמֶן] בְּרָחְתִּי עִם כָּל<sup>3</sup> בְּנֵי שְׁמִישָׁן בְּמִצְוֹק קֶ'ק מִצְרָפָת" בְּחַרְוֹזִים מִהְשֻׁעְרוֹרִיה מִשְׁבְּנָחְמִיה [אִשְׁר הָעִיר [בֵּית] קְבָרוֹת Neh. ii., 3] אִשְׁר לִי. About the family of Grotwol, in Metz, v. *Revue des Etudes Juives*, vii. 107, 115.

מה שבתבתה, In vol. IV. of his MSS., p. 166b, Bacharach had stated, לבני שמשון במצוק ק'ק מצרפת" בחזרזים מהשעורה מה נחמייה [אִשְׁר הָעִיר [בֵּית] קְבָרוֹת Neh. ii., 3] we further read, אִשְׁר לִי אָבוֹתִי חָרִיבָה . וּמְסִפֵּר מָה שָׁאִירָע לוֹ בְּחַרְבָּן קֶ'ק וַיְרִמְישָׁא תּוֹבָב

וּכְן כָּמָה מִינִי פְּרִישָׁות שְׁנַחֲנוּ בְּקֶ'ק כְּנוּן<sup>5</sup> Ib., p. 260b, note to p. 119a, The Jewish women, who sold milk, milked it on the farms of Christians into the pails out of which they sold it in the street; *ib.*, No. 198.

members of this ancient body regard themselves as bound to carry out its rules, if the bond that had united them was broken, and no hope of their re-union seemed remotely possible? There was only one man who clung to the belief in the reorganisation of the community, who spoke, indeed, of exile, but would not believe in the destruction of their ancient union. This man was R. Chayim Bacharach. He looked upon the preservation of the synagogue valuables and the communal books as a pledge of its re-establishment. The symbols of the existence of the old synagogue, that formed its historic centre, were still secure; it was only a question of "When?" not that all hope of restoration was to be abandoned. With the bold though sure glance of the seer he made public this conviction, and declared the traditions of the old congregation binding<sup>1</sup> upon their children, thus preserving its separate existence through and beyond the period of dispersion. On the 1st of January, 1691, we find him in Heidelberg, where soon after the time of destruction life began to move and thrive afresh at the house of the wealthy warden, Moses Oppenheim, sen., whose son Solomon had married Bacharach's daughter, Dobrush.<sup>2</sup> He most probably did not care to continue in exile in Metz, where his family still remained; the necessity of procuring a permanent livelihood had caused him to wander about. In the summer of 1690, we meet him in Frankfurt-on-the-Maine, in the house of Hirz Wahl, the uncle of R. David Oppenheim, where he perhaps for the last time enjoyed the society of his friend and beloved pupil,<sup>3</sup> before the latter went to Nicolsburg to act as Chief Rabbi of Moravia. Without feeling the slightest envy against the fortunate young man,

<sup>1</sup> מה נם עיר ואם בישראל וכ"ק ישן נושן בו והרי עדרין, *Ib.*, No. 126, ס"ת וכל קודש וכל פנקטי קהל סגורים ומוברים.

<sup>2</sup> *Ib.*, p. 125a, Moses Senior Oppenheim, as he is called on the tombstone of his son Solomon (v. Lewysohn, No. 43), died at midnight, Sunday, 11 Ab, 1701, at Heidelberg, but was interred at Worms, v. III. 22.

<sup>3</sup> ב"ח תמוז שנת ת"ל [ת"ז] [read ת"ז] בימי עוני ומרודין ונודע כ"ק רוקפורט.

but full of bitter comparisons with his own unhappy lot he makes a note<sup>1</sup> of the fact that his friend was scarcely thirty years old when called to this important post. Perhaps it was on this occasion that he formed the resolve to betake himself to Heidelberg, where the most prominent members of the family of Oppenheim had already settled, or had sought refuge after the destruction of Worms. Samuel, the imperial chief court-agent of Vienna, had been denoted by the name of Heidelberg,<sup>2</sup> his previous residence, even in later years, long after he had already settled in Austria. His brother, Moses Senior, who was related by marriage to Bacharach, had settled permanently in Heidelberg as district warden of the Jews of the Palatinate. His brother, Abraham, the father of R. David Oppenheim, had just fled hither from Worms. This was the Abraham Zur Kandten,<sup>3</sup> i.e., the owner of the house that had a sign-board with a pot painted thereon, whose duty it had been, as warden in Worms, to receive the French general d'Huxelles on the 2nd of December, 1689, in the name of his congregation, and who now in his exile watched over the interests of his dispersed community, that was even yet in danger, with no less zeal than before.<sup>4</sup> Bacharach, therefore, met with many friends when in the spring of 1691 he arrived at Heidelberg. It almost seems as if for a brief period he fulfilled the functions of the Rabbinate here; at least, R. Hirsch Fränkel, when he afterwards became Rabbi of Heidelberg, and in 1705 had a dispute with R. David Oppenheim about a bill of divorce, appealed to the decisions that R. Chayim Bacharach had pronounced whilst staying there.<sup>5</sup> But even if Heidelberg

<sup>1</sup> In vol. III. of his MSS., p. 120, he writes: *שאלה מה"ה מהרר דוד אשר נתקבל לאב"ד בק"ק נ"ש והמדינה לפניו היותו בן שלשים ברפין גדוילם*.

<sup>2</sup> Kaufmann, *Samson Wertheimer*, 3, note 1.

<sup>3</sup> Soldau, *ib.*, 13.

<sup>4</sup> Lewysohn, in *Frankel's Monatsschrift*, vii. 363, note 4.

<sup>5</sup> In the MS. *Responsa* of R. David Oppenheim, III. 34; *ונם הרב המופל מורה"ח ז"ל בעל חות יאיר סיור גט כאן בהיידלברגן נ"כ כנ"ל*

had again begun to be well populated, it had not yet lost all traces of the terrible ravages committed in it. People were still afraid to display openly their property that had been saved from the pillage; if Bacharach wanted a reference-work upon Rabbinical literature, he could not procure a copy from any of the community; all his decisions had to be arrived at from the fulness of his knowledge without the assistance of books.<sup>1</sup> He, therefore, could not remain long in his friendly place of refuge. Frankfurt-on-the-Main, that had already become the natural asylum for every fugitive from Worms, seeing that it had afforded shelter to the magistrate of that town,<sup>2</sup> he resolved, should also be his permanent home,<sup>3</sup> where he could wait hopefully for the fulfilment of his great desire, the re-establishment of his congregation and their old dwelling-place. He sent for his family and his property from Metz to come to him, so that, surrounded by his books and manuscripts, he could resume the thread of his researches and labour at the point where he had been compelled to break it off, owing to the invasion of Worms. The most intimate friend<sup>4</sup> of Bacharach in this town was R. Samuel Schotten,<sup>5</sup> formerly Rabbi in Darmstadt, and at this time head director of the Manes-Darmstadt Klause college. He was distinguished, not only for his extra-

וain פה בידי לא שם ולא פוסקי כי גם ה"ב פה, חות יאר<sup>1</sup> Cp. also No. 213.

<sup>2</sup> Soldau, *ib.*, 33 *sqq.*, 38.

<sup>3</sup> The play upon his name (at the end of: *Resp.* 15) in the sentence, לו לא האמני לראות בטוב ה" בארץ החי"ם ושם יא"ר נרי נר תמי"ד may be taken to allude to the date Iyar, 1694.

<sup>4</sup> In the summer of 1699, B. gave him, perhaps as a token of remembrance, a whole volume of manuscript Cabbalistic notes, as a present, as he remarks in the list of contents to vol. XXIII. of his MSS., ברך גודל כתלה מעשיות. נתתי במתנה לה"ה אב"ד ראש ישיבה קליז מהרר שמואל שאטני בהיוית שם וונקוורת קין תב"ט

<sup>5</sup> About him, cf. Horovitz, *Frankfurter Rabbinen*, II., 57, 60, 73, 77, *sqq.*, 4, *sq.*, and Brüll, *Jahrbücher*, vii. 160, *sq.*

ordinarily profound Rabbinical erudition, but also for his general culture, most astounding for a Rabbi of this time, and he was even, thanks to his knowledge of Latin, well read in Christian theological literature.<sup>1</sup> It was probably through him that R. Chayim made the acquaintance of the Christian scholar, Rudolf Martin Meelführer, who, notwithstanding his youth, was already deeply versed in Rabbinical literature, and who knew how to value the manuscript treasures in Bacharach's costly library.<sup>2</sup> But on the whole, the exile from Worms led a rather retired life here. Prematurely aged, inwardly broken by his misfortunes and mental troubles, deprived almost entirely of the sense of hearing, and so having to rely completely upon his own resources, he was cut off from intercourse with the outer world, even before bodily suffering kept him to his house. Overcome by grief and melancholy, he describes himself to us<sup>3</sup> as one isolated and a stranger with difficulty crawling about with the aid of a stick, and even compelled to omit his attendance at synagogue owing to his weakness. In this situation R. Hirsch,<sup>4</sup> the son of his friend R. Enoch Fränkel of

<sup>1</sup> This remarkable fact in the history of culture, we learn from Rudolf Martin Meelführer, *Cavas Synagogæ errantis sive impedimenta conversio-nis Judæorum*, p. 21n: "Præest Synagogæ Francofurtensi ad Moenū Vir modestus ac pereruditus R. Samuel vulgo Rabbinus der Clausen coetis literarii qui ibidem colligitur, vocatur, hunc sæpe accessi et cum eo contulī de variis capitibus doctrinæ Christianæ, aliquando scriptis Germ. Dn. D. Speneri cura singulari invigilantem in Museo deprehendi, ubi illico mihi quæ in vastis voluminibus legerat reddebat promtissime et fere totum diem dicendo de theologorum nostrorum controversiis exprimebat."

<sup>2</sup> Bacharach had the supercommentary of Joseph b. Elazar (צפנת פענח) to Ibn Ezra's commentary to the Pentateuch, in MS., v. R. M. Meelführer, *Ex historia Hebræorum literaria sive de meritis Hebræorum in rem literariam* (Wittenberg, 1699), § 3: "Hic MStus Francofurti ad Moenum in Bibl. celebris Rabbini, R. Chayim Bacharacensis extat."

<sup>3</sup> See the commencement of the Preface to, and beginning and end of *Resp.* 15.

<sup>4</sup> *Ib.*, p. 229a, וְמוֹן מְפָלוֹג פָּה עַל הַטּוֹב יוֹכֵר שְׁמוֹ בְּהַרְרָא כִּי הַרְרָא בְּנֵי הַנָּאָן כְּמוֹהוּר חָנוֹךְ וְצָלִיחָה שְׁהִיא אָבִיךְ וּרְמֵם בְּקִיךְ הַעֲנָא לְפִיָּם

Cp. Kaufmann, *Die letzte Vertreibung der Juden aus Wien*, p. 199, n. 5.

Hanau became his faithful assistant. The one thought that sustained him in all his distress was to render his works accessible to posterity, and he found tranquillity and comfort in directing the work of Hirsch Fränkel, as he arranged and copied his manuscripts to prepare them for the press. In this town, where an excellent firm of Hebrew printers was established, during his enforced leisure his long-delayed plans for publishing his works must have been revived with renewed vigour. It seemed as if he had only to stretch out his hand to bring forth the fruits of his industrious and richly productive life from the storehouses where he had placed them, but in reality he needed the powers that had been his in his youth to revise and set in order this over-plentiful material. Even his book, *Mekor Chayim*, that had been ready for the press some twenty years ago, had become so disarranged and in want of revision, owing to the notes which he had been obliged to add to it after the appearance of the commentaries of R. Abraham Gumbinner and R. David Halevi to the ritual Code of Joseph Karo, that he was compelled to forego all hope of publishing it in his present condition, when, to think out again all the material he had collected, and to re-write the whole work was an impossible task for him.<sup>1</sup>

Owing to the remarkable accident that, while depriving us of the writings of the man, has yet preserved to us the catalogue of them, we are enabled to obtain so perfect an idea of the method of his work that we can see that this scholar, who was always investigating and writing, in spite of all his productions, could scarcely ever lay his hands directly upon anything that he might show as the result of his labour, even when the harvest-time of his life had been reached. Just as the fruits of his all-embracing industry, that occupied itself with equal diligence with all kinds of learning, were stocked together

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<sup>1</sup> According to the Preface to *Chotot Ya'ir*.

in his brain, so his papers bore the evidences of his many-sided labours, which, to himself appeared clear and connected, but in reality carried the distinct signs of his activity as a thinker and a collector in their inextricable and variegated confusion. Filled with the earnestness of the inquirer who takes equal interest in all matters, nothing being disregarded, he considered everything that engaged his thoughts and came under his observation as worthy of being commented upon; certainly none of his contemporaries was so careful in "making notes" as he was. Whether it was the explanation of some obscure passage, the solution of some Talmudical difficulty, the application of some Agadic remark, the answering of some legal point that was either submitted to him or raised by himself, the treatment of some ethical problem, the development of some philosophical thought, the proof of some article of belief, the astonishing revelation of the equality in numerical value of two words or groups of words, the clearing up of some cabballistic mystery, the discussion of some custom or superstition, or some phase of Jewish life, or of an historical memorial, or of a curiosity, the commenting upon some grammatical, scientific, or mathematical question, the copying of an old poem, or of a letter or opinion of whatsoever kind, making extracts from a rare book or from a manuscript, something he had himself experienced or that was brought under his notice, a tradition or the result of his own reflections—all these numerous things were carefully rescued from oblivion in absolutely unsystematic succession, just as they presented themselves to him, and were safely secured by his ever active pen. It is principally in seven volumes of his manuscripts that all this immediate outcome of his own personal work was contained. The number of manuscript volumes in which, so to speak, the intellectual family hoard heaped together by the labours of a large circle of relatives and friends was preserved, and which R. Jair's activity as a collector brought together, must have amounted to nearly

fifty; but in these seven volumes was to be found the greater part of his own work—the diary of his genius—although they by no means exhausted the full quantity of his own productions. But they remained a worthless treasure, an unused harvest as long as the dense mass of these notes could not be revised and sorted, and, therefore, Bacharach resolved to cut a path through the thicket, and, under the name of *Jair Nathib*<sup>1</sup> (the Illuminator of the Path), which title Isaac Nathan had also given to his *Concordance to the Bible*, to compile an index to these volumes, in which a general reference to the matter contained in each, and to the page on which it was to be found should be given. If, owing to the preservation of this work, we are led to a full consciousness of the irreparable loss literature has suffered in the destruction of these collections, on the other hand the knowledge of the subjects on which this richly endowed intellect dwelt upon with such eager interest, in addition to the numerous topics to which allusion is merely made in the midst of the vast quantity of the material treated of by him, allows us to take the desired glance over the fields of learning through which he walked gathering the fruits, and, moreover, to obtain an unexpected insight into the history of his inner life. From this point of view the publication of this work, which affords an adequate idea of his intellectual activity, becomes an absolute duty demanded by science. How important this book had been to him is best shown by the fact that he had provided it with an introduction,<sup>2</sup> which serves as a testimony to his brilliant power of thought and true scientific spirit. Whatever entered his mind during sleepless nights, which undermined his already delicate health, during lonely walks, during the hour of leisure at twilight, at

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<sup>1</sup> The property of the Beth Ha-midrash in Vienna. In the "Beth Ha-midrash" of J. H. Weiss, Jellinek has given extracts from this MS. I have to express my indebtedness to my respected friend J. H. Weiss, in Vienna, who many years ago studied this treasure, for being enabled to obtain a thorough acquaintance with this MS.

<sup>2</sup> *V. Appendix.*

public lectures, or during silent research, all was here to be found written down as a help to his own memory, entirely for his own use. Now that he was examining this intellectual store from the standpoint of a strange reader, it must have seemed necessary to him to explain, and as it were to excuse, these notes, that might seem incomprehensible to his contemporaries, especially in the case of such apparently trifling or even useless things as special customs or superstitious notions. But the large space that he had devoted to the playing with numbers and curious comparisons of words according to the spirit of the age, also seemed to him to require some word of explanation; they were only to be regarded as the children of his enforced leisure, which he had never allowed to grow in size at the expense of his own serious studies.

The merest glance at the extent of this collection gives some idea of its richness; a thorough examination of the multiplicity and scientific tone of its contents changes our wonder to admiration.

Thus the first volume consisted of 237 leaves, the table of contents of which occupies twenty-four closely written folio pages of the index. The headings that succeed each other in miscellaneous order are somewhat as follows:—Talmud, Agada, Legalism, Ritual, Bible, Homiletics, Ethics, Philosophy, Cabbala, History, and general Criticism. The variety of the contents, and the rays of light that break through the mental darkness of the period may be illustrated by a few examples from this work. Thus in one passage he asserts that even ethical writings in German are of more value than the greatest and most ingenious Talmudical works that are not based upon truth.<sup>1</sup> Elsewhere he excuses the Polish Talmudists for their deficient knowledge of the Bible.<sup>2</sup> The story of two women who agreed

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חסידות דלאט ע"ב . שבח ספרי מוסר אפילו בלאון אשכנז יותר מחיבורי <sup>1</sup>  
נדורי החריפי ופלפולי של שקר

ד"ת דף קמ"ד ע"א . התנצלות על גודלי פולין שאינם בקיין במקרא ע <sup>2</sup>  
כך ג' דף מ"ב ע"א ודף ע"ט ע"א

that the one who died first should relate to the survivor her experiences after death,<sup>1</sup> seems to him to be as well worth noting down as the impressive rebuke he administered to his co-religionists for certain defects (and their causes) that had crept into divine service.<sup>2</sup> At one time he inveighs against the misunderstanding of Christian commentators of the Talmudical saying, "Keep back your children from reading," as well as against the reproaches levelled against the Jews for their ignorance of the interpretation of Holy Writ,<sup>3</sup> and then his philosophical reflections cause him to soar aloft to a height whence he recognises how the Biblical verse (Ps. civ. 31) has this profound meaning, that God will only rejoice in the future, for at the present time each day reveals some new imperfection in the world.<sup>4</sup>

The exhaustive description of the second volume with its 204 leaves extends from page 24a to page 40b of the Index, and shows a still more versatile aspect of his learning. Here we have the pious customs of the community of Worms copied out from an old parchment prayer-book.<sup>5</sup> The sufferings at the destruction of Worms,<sup>6</sup> the persecutions at Nordhausen,<sup>7</sup> here find their faithful chronicler. Now we behold him dealing with the problem, how the

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חדשונים דף קמ"ה ע"א . מעשה נפלא שני נשים שת"ב יחד איזה <sup>1</sup>  
שתמאות חיללה תניד לחברתה מה אירע לה :

חסידיו דף קע"ט ע"ב : תוכחה נמוצזה על קלות ראש ומיעט אימה <sup>2</sup>  
בכה"ב וכמה דברים מוקולקי" שבנו והסיבה :

אנדרה דף ק"ז ע"א . פ"י מנו בנים מן הגיון ומה שחכמי א"ה מלזין <sup>3</sup>  
עלינו מזה ותוכחה על סכלותינו בביואר תניד : ע' ברך נ' דף ע"ט ע"א :

ד"ת דף ר"ד ע"ב . ישמה ה' במעשיו אבל לא שמח כי כל מעשה יום <sup>4</sup>  
יום יש בו פנים :

מנגן דף ד' ע"א . הועתק קצר מנהני ק"ק ווירמיישא מתפללה ישנה <sup>5</sup>  
על הקלוּפַן :

חידושי דף פ"ב ע"ב . מ"ש בנחמייה אשר העיר קברות אבותי הריבא <sup>6</sup>  
ומספר מה שאירע לו בחרבן ק"ק ווירמיישא טוב"ב :

חידושי דף קל"ז ע"א . מאורע רעה גנו"ר נורטהווין <sup>7</sup> :

numbering of the twenty-four books of the Scripture<sup>1</sup> originated, and then reproducing the list of books named in the *Kneseth Hagedola* of Benveniste.<sup>2</sup> In one place he decides the question whether it is permitted to skate on Sabbath,<sup>3</sup> whilst in another the discussion touches upon what it is that decides the fate of books and the acceptance and circulation of synagogal poems.<sup>4</sup> The enumeration of the verses of the Bible that have been misunderstood in a Christological sense<sup>5</sup> interests him no less than the solution of the question whether R. Asher of Lunel or R. Asher of Toledo lived earlier,<sup>6</sup> or who was the Greek Rabbi whom R. Abraham b. David of Posquières mentions.<sup>7</sup> Why the number of ten adults that is required for public worship is simply called "the number" (Minyan),<sup>8</sup> is a point of no less importance for him than the striking incident that R. Gershon, the Light of the Diaspora, kept fourteen days of mourning for his apostate son.<sup>9</sup> He enumerates the notes of the melody to the prayer, Baruch Sheamar, verse by verse,<sup>10</sup> as carefully as he states his approval of the custom of applying the benedictory formula, apparently intended only for the dead, to the living as well.<sup>11</sup>

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תורה דף ל' ע"א . מה הם עשרים ואربע ספרים הקדושים' ע' ברך נ' 1  
 ד"ג ע"ב וכרך ח' דר"ל ע"ב וכרך א' דצ"א :  
 דברי תורה דף ל"ח ע"ב . רישימת ספרים הנזכרים בספר הכנסת הנדרולה : 2  
 ג"ז [= גם זו, דינני] א"ח שלז' דף ע' ע"ב . לעבור על הגלייד בל"א 3  
 שליליפין בשבת :  
 ספרי" דף נ"ז ע"א . בדבר חיבורו ופיווטיו יש זוכים שיתפשו ויקובלו 4  
 ויש לא :  
 ד"ת דף ק"ד ע"ב . רישימת פסוקי אנ"ך שפקחו המניין . בדףן גדרלים : 5  
 ד"ת דף ק"ט ע"א . הרא"ש מטולטלא מביא להרא"ש מלנול וنم 6  
 [f. 64r] ; במסעו רבי בנימין הביאו ונם התו' זכרו בב"ק [בג']  
 V. Zunz, *Zur Gesch.*, p. 48.  
 ד"ת דף קצ"ד ע"ב . צ"ע הרב היוני שדבר הראב"ד מי הוא : 7  
 ד"ת דף ק"ט ע"ב . למה נקרא אסיפה עשרה לרבר קדושה מנין 8  
 ד"ת דף קנ"ג ע"א . מה שצ"ע על רגמ"ה שישב אבלוות על בנו י"ד ימיים 9  
 כהשטייר . י"ד שמה :  
 מהנהני דף ק"ה ע"א . סדר נגינות ברוך שאמר חרותה אחר חרותה 10  
 ד"ת דף ק"ט ע"א . נכון לומר צ"ל ולכתוב כך נם על אדם חי שכ"ב 11

The third volume contains 191 leaves, which are described in the Index from page 41a to page 48b. Here we have Talmudical questions that were put to him, for instance, by the Talmudist of Worms, Moses Oettingen,<sup>1</sup> by R. Joseph Drescher,<sup>2</sup> and R. David Oppenheim,<sup>3</sup> as well as the penitential hymn that his grandfather, R. Samuel, had composed for the congregation of Worms.<sup>4</sup> Here, too, he enters into the question whether it is more meritorious to spend one's time in study or in teaching one's own son,<sup>5</sup> and, also, whether it is lawful to whitewash a synagogue a second time—an act that the Jews of Worms had always been averse to doing, but which they were compelled to do ten years after the catastrophe of 1689.<sup>6</sup> His critical talents are displayed here in collecting and grouping together the liturgical poetry composed by Eleazar Kalir and Simon the Great for the second days of the holidays,<sup>7</sup> as well as in his endeavours to make clear to

תורה דף ע"ח קושיא מהר"ם מלמד בוירמיישא בתו ר' מ' ד"ר ד"ה<sup>1</sup> Cp., for a similar custom in Yemen, I., 56b.

תפילה דף ב"ג ע"א סליחה שסדר א"ז חנאון וצ"ל לאומורה בק"ו III. 22. A daughter of Moses Oettingen, the widow of Isaac Blin, died in Worms, 1705; v. *v.*

תפילה דף ב"ג ע"א סליחה שסדר א"ז חנאון וצ"ל לאומורה בק"ו III. 22. Cp., for a similar custom in Yemen, I., 56b.

תפילה דף ב"ג ע"א סליחה שסדר א"ז חנאון וצ"ל לאומורה בק"ו III. 22. Cp., for a similar custom in Yemen, I., 56b.

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תפילה דף ב"ג ע"א סליחה שסדר א"ז חנאון וצ"ל לאומורה בק"ו III. 22. Cp., for a similar custom in Yemen, I., 56b.

himself the meaning of the observation by which, according to Abraham Ibn Daud's account, Moses b. Chanoch was said to have first directed the attention of the modest Nathan to his Talmudic erudition.<sup>1</sup> He investigates the reason why Jesus, contrary to the Jewish law, has been crucified alive, and ascribes it to a Roman custom.<sup>2</sup> If the Talmud praises acuteness of thought, this praise certainly cannot justify the Polish degeneracy into the Pilpul.<sup>3</sup> His historical instincts are not appeased until he has placed all the heroes of Talmudical literature in their proper historical order. Thus he tries to fix exactly the position in time of R. Jonathan Hacohen, the commentator to Alfâsi upon Erubin.<sup>4</sup>

Volume IV., with its manifold contents, is treated of in the index from p. 49a to 56a. It includes 236 leaves. Here we read the opinions to which he gave utterance on the 17th of Tebeth, 1668,<sup>5</sup> in his effort to quell the violent dispute that raged at Trier, and also the narrative of the ravages committed by the French in Worms that he had sent to his son Samson.<sup>6</sup> The curious species of lizard, to which the attention of R. Liepmann Heller was first drawn,<sup>7</sup> calls for a remark from him as well as the dictum of his

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ספריו דף מ' ע"ב . מ"ש בעלי ספרי ד"ה שאמר ר"מ האורה לר"ג דבי<sup>1</sup> פשו להו טבילותות . שאין לו מובן . ומקומו איה :  
 חקירה דף קל'ב ע"ב . טעם שנתלה א"א ח' שכ' המלכו' עושה בימייהם<sup>2</sup> :  
 כבנ'ם ע' כרך א' ד"ג ע"ב ובכ'ג' תולה וובין :  
 תוכחה דף קל'ה ע"א . חריף ומקשי אין פירושו פלפול של הבל וחילוקי<sup>3</sup> פולין ח'ז :  
 ד"ת דף קנ'ג ע"א . מי הוא ר' יהונתן הכהן המכפרש לר"ג בכם עירובין :<sup>4</sup>  
 ג'ז ג'ז [דיני] ח'ם דף קל'אגנ'ד . תשובה על מחלוקת גדור ודרבי<sup>5</sup> :  
 ביוונו' שאירעו בק'ק' טריר . ג'ז ד"ג נדפס ס"ה [Resp. 65.] חות' יאיר[<sup>6</sup>] :  
 ד"ה דף קס'ז ע"ב . מה שכתבתי לבני שימוש במצוק קק'ז מצרפת'י<sup>6</sup> :  
 בחרזים מהשעורייה :  
 ד"ת דף ג'ז ע"ב . מ"ש ספר אוצר חיים ברג פאסטינקה מוריינא .<sup>7</sup>  
 ; ומ"ש בו בס' לחם חמודות ע' כרך ג' דק'ל ע"א וכרך ב' דכ'ז ע"ב :  
 Cf. Kaufmann, *Die letzte V.*, p. 16 n. 3. The medicinal remedy, called *stincus marinus*, by Heller, is still used and popular for aphrodisia in Lower Austria ; cf. *Wiener medicinische Wochenschrift*, 1889.

great-great-grandfather, the tall R. Löw, that the peacock belonged to the clean birds, *i.e.*, those that are lawful for food.<sup>1</sup> At one time he is defending Abraham Ibn Ezra against the imputation that in his exegesis he disregarded Rabbinical tradition,<sup>2</sup> and at another he traces the development of the system of hospitality among the ancients, and the origin of the so-called Pletten,<sup>3</sup> *i.e.*, the bills for the payment of the expenses of poor students and travellers to whom hospitality was shown. In one passage he seeks reasons for declaring the drawing and hanging up of one's own portrait, and that of one's relatives to be perfectly allowable;<sup>4</sup> in another he puzzles himself about the phenomenon that in a mirror the human face does not seem to turn from right to left.<sup>5</sup> He is as anxious to settle the question whether Maimuni possessed a knowledge of Hebrew grammar, poetry and metre,<sup>6</sup> as whether the Joseph Hacohen mentioned in the Mishna may not be the author of *Josippon*.<sup>7</sup>

The 272 leaves of Vol. V. have their various contents detailed in p. 57a to p. 83b in the index. In this part he is engaged in questions of natural science, as, *e.g.*, about objects that are visible and yet cannot be perceived by the sense of touch, and *vice versa*,<sup>8</sup> or about the query, why

ג"ז ג"ז [דרני י"ד] ק"א ע"ב . מ"ש זקנין הנאון מוהרל'פ שטווים ע"פ<sup>1</sup>  
תחוור ה"א:  
אמונה דף ר"ז . התנצלות بعد הראב"ע מכמה שחשבוהו כאינו חושש<sup>2</sup>  
לקבלה . ושבדורות אפשר לדרשו נגד ר"ז ליע"ש  
חסידו דף ר"א ע"א . עניין הכנסת אורחים איך היה בימי הקדרמוני ואיך<sup>3</sup>  
נתפשו הפליטין . וכמה דברים בענינה:  
חסידו י"ד קמ"א דף ר"ג ע"ב . אין איסור לצירר צורת עצמו וצורת<sup>4</sup>  
הkirah דף רכ"ב ע"א . עניין דבר פלא שתמונה אדם במראה שכננו<sup>5</sup>  
לא יתהפרק מימין לשמאל:  
ג"ז [חכמה] דף רכ"ד ע"א . אם ידע הרמב"ם בדקוק ובשיר ובמשקל<sup>6</sup>  
ג"ז [דרת] דף רכ"ז ע"א . יוסף הכהן הנזכר במשנה וברברית' יוכל<sup>7</sup>  
לחיות שהוא היוסיפון:  
חיקירה דף יג ע"א . קצת פלאות טבעיות דברים מוגנים ואין נראים<sup>8</sup>  
חיקירה דף יג ע"א . כוחות יאיר Resp., 233. ; והחיפה

drunken men often have thoughts or presentiments that are more correct than those of other men.<sup>1</sup> He further speaks of the superstitious notions about hobgoblins, elves, and little fairies, as he had read of them in the popular literature of his time.<sup>2</sup> As regards the productions of members of his family, we have copies of the marginal notes of his grandfather, R. Samuel, and his learned wife Eve, to the liturgical poems of the Machzor,<sup>3</sup> the account of a conversation he held in a dream with his father about a Hebrew begging-letter,<sup>4</sup> a poem that was written on the occasion of his appointment as preacher at Prague,<sup>5</sup> and a catalogue of all the writings of the tall R. Löw, of which only a very insignificant portion had appeared in print.<sup>6</sup> He makes observations upon the

חקירה דף טז ע"ב . חקירה מה שבראה שדרתו של אדם נכונה יותר מה שנראה לי כי דעתו של אדם בהיותו זולת זה : מה שנראה לי כי דעתו של אדם בהיותו זולת זה :

ג"ז [דינין] י"ד קע"ט דף ק"ע"ב עניין בן תמלון . ושאן חטא על מי <sup>2</sup> שנדרלו בביתו ודבריהם רבים ראיתי בספרי אה"ה וקוראים לו קאבקאלד ובכינוי פאלדר ניסטיר והם דמות ילדים קטנית בלבוש יפה רואים וAINם נראים וכל מישתוי הבית משמי' להם בזמנם קבוע בקURAה התבשיל לאכול . הוא עושה להם כל עבורה הבית ובפרט לנקי' הרפת ושאר עבורי' החבמות וכלבך שללא ילעינו עליו או ידרבו עליו דבר בזין ושאר פרטיו עניינו ומעשי' בן תמלון the Études Juives, pp. 10, 66, and about Jewish superstition, Gudemann, Geschichte...der Cultur der Juden in...Deutschland, p. 199 sq. ; see also, for a description of the "mannikins," Witekind, in Janssen's Geschichte des deutschen Volkes, vi., 484.

תפילה דף ק"ב ע"ב . מ"ש זקini זוקינטי זוליה'ה בנלוון פויטי' במחוזר <sup>3</sup> בפי' הדברים :

ג"ז [דינין] אה' תקמ"ה דף ק"ג ע"ב . חלום שראייתי אה' הנז"ל ודברתי <sup>4</sup> עמו בפירוש אנגרת מזון שהוא קיבוץ של עני :

פרפראו דף ק"ג ע"ב . מ"ש אה' הנז"ל בחרוזי על חומש קטן <sup>5</sup> כשנת קבל לדרשן בק"פ :

דף קפ"ה ע"א ; ספרים שנדרפסו שחיבר אה' הנז"ל מוהרל'פ הם כפסולת <sup>6</sup> מן האוכל שנתבזבזו :

ritual as contained in certain old parchment-scrolls,<sup>1</sup> collects details respecting the communal customs of Hamburg and its environs,<sup>2</sup> and passes judgment upon practices that had crept in, such as the so-called "Spinnholz-Sabbath,"<sup>3</sup> and the error that had spread of arbitrarily applying the formula used in the case of martyrs to persons killed in any manner.<sup>4</sup> He is no less deeply interested in strange identifications of different words and ideas according to their equal numerical value,<sup>5</sup> than in questions upon literary history, such as, Who was the author of the *Maggid Mishna*?<sup>6</sup> or, Why does Abraham Ibn Daud mention R. Jacob Tam in his *Chronicle*, but neither Rashi nor Maimuni,<sup>7</sup> or in making extracts from a parchment copy of R. Chayim's *Or Sarua*.<sup>8</sup>

The sixth volume, whose 111 leaves are indexed from page 84a to page 89a, contributed in a great measure to his collection of *Responsa*, including also the mathematical problem of No. 172.<sup>9</sup> But, in addition to various important expressions of opinion and Talmudical discussions,

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תפילה דף קע"ח ע"ב . נוסח שפוך חמתק בלילה פסח על קלף ישן נושן <sup>1</sup>  
 מנהני דף מ"ב ע"ב . חידושים מנהנים המבורג ואוthon גלויות <sup>2</sup>  
 מנהני דף קל"ט ע"א . מנוג שפינה חולץ . ושאינה מנהן חסידו ובכחן <sup>3</sup>  
 בעית ב"ה של סעודת חתונה ; cf. Loeb, *Annuaire de la Société des Études Juives*, I., p. 89 n. i.

ד"ת י"ד רמ"א דף ק"ג ע"ב . חתימת ארם בן הקדוש דזוקא בידי מלכות <sup>4</sup>  
 ע"י עלילה או בשעת הגזירה . ואימתי יכתוב הי"ד ע"ד קפ"א ע"א :  
 פרפראוי דף קצ"ב ע"ב . עמי עשיז רגiley לכתוב על הכתוב ני' מלכות <sup>5</sup>  
 [= 496] ; ג"ז פרפר דף קצ"ז ע"ב : שנה מעוברת שלימה ימיה ני' שכינה  
 [= 385].

חקירה דף מ"א ע"א . מה שמו של המחבר מגיד משנה :  
 חקירות דף רנ"ג ע"ב . תמה על שוכר הראב"ד בספר קבלתו לר"ת ולא <sup>7</sup>  
 לרשי ולרמ"בם :  
 ספרים דף ל"ז ע"ב . ליקוטים יפים מספר קלף שווית מהר"ר חיים בן <sup>8</sup>  
 ר' יצחק בעל א"ז :  
 חקירה וחכמה [דף ב"ג] ע"ב ודף כ"ד . חקירות נפלאות ושאלות עמוק <sup>9</sup>  
 ברבווע יתר העגולה שהוכיחו התו' על חותמים כרכובות בשטח עיגול טפח :  
 נדפס קע"ב :

there are also researches upon literary matters. Thus he deals with the corrupt and highly-misleading state of the text of our *Tosefta*,<sup>1</sup> and with the proof that Zerachia of Gerona could only have been nineteen years of age when he began his *Maor*, and not when he finished it.<sup>2</sup> He records with precision the fact that his father had been wont to fast regularly on the anniversary of the death of his uncle, R. Chayim Cohen, who had also been his teacher,<sup>3</sup> as well as the curious coincidences of equality in value of various words,<sup>4</sup> and he carefully notes the explanation of some obscure proverbs.<sup>5</sup>

Especially rich in material was Vol. VII., that contained 282 leaves, and is described in the index from p. 89a—104a. Here he had written out his father's commentary to the tractate of the Mishna, called *Kinnim*,<sup>6</sup> with his own criticisms and the replies thereto of the author. Natural science, history, and literature were here gathered together pell-mell. The pygmies (*Alräunchen*)<sup>7</sup> are as much a point of interest to him as the query whether the human race has really deteriorated in stature, strength, and longevity.<sup>8</sup>

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ד"ת דף ב' ע"ב . שהחותפות שבידינו משובשים ומוטעים מאר מאר <sup>1</sup>  
 ד"ת דף ע"ו ע"ב . הוכיח שא"א לומר בשום פנים שהיה הרוזה רק בן <sup>2</sup>  
 י"ט בignum חיבורו ספר המאור רק בהתחלתו :  
 חסידוי דף ס"ז ע"א . א"א הנזיל היה מתענה ביום פטירת רבו המובהק <sup>3</sup>  
 הנאן דודו מוהירה כ"ז :  
 פרפריאות דף ס"ב ע"א . שדי ני דין עד דין [= 314] וכשה"ג מלאותי <sup>4</sup>  
 מישפט ני ב' ערדים ב' בעלי דינים בעלי דינים נ' דינים [= 481] :  
 ד"ה דף ס"א ע"א . הא דמנגלא בפומיהו דאנשא חור חזור ואל <sup>5</sup>  
 מוף ל'ט עד דף ע' למד דפין ביואר משינויים מסכת קיון מא"א הנזיל <sup>6</sup>  
 ומה שהשנתי עליה ומה שהשיב בקצתן דחה וקצתן הודה על הנלויו כלם  
 הוועתקו מר"הה [מר' הירש הענא, i.e.] :  
 ד"ה דף פ"ז ע"א . מענין בריה דמות אדם קורין אלרינכין . ויש נ"ב <sup>7</sup>  
 ep. Janssen, *Geschichte des Deutschen Volkes*, VI.  
 460, No. 1, and Hermann Peters, *Aus pharmaceutischer Vorzeit*, N. T.  
 חקירה דף צ' ע"א צ"ע במש' שנטנו בני אדם מדורו' הראשוני <sup>8</sup>  
 ; בקומה בגבורה בזמן חולדה בחכמתה מקראי :

The enumeration of the Messianic movements in Jewish history,<sup>1</sup> is as important an object of solicitude as the fixing the date of the composition of the legal code of Joseph Karo,<sup>2</sup> at the years 1522-1542. He makes a note of the supposed introduction of Hebrew words into other languages, such as the word "baar"<sup>3</sup> into German, or the word "null,"<sup>4</sup> into Latin, and, like a harbinger of the study of folk-lore, he comments upon the appearance of Talmudical tales in other literatures.<sup>5</sup> Like the Christian theologians, he raises the question, how America was peopled after the flood,<sup>6</sup> and makes use of an opinion of Philo to help him to disprove that Cain married his sister.<sup>7</sup> He holds in pious respect every Jewish custom,<sup>8</sup> but nevertheless reads polemical writings against Judaism, and adduces remarks collected from Wagenseil's works.<sup>9</sup> He

is controverted by Oersted, compare an old opinion given in *Révue des Études Juives*, IX., 58.

הקרוי דף צ"ז ע"ב . מעניין כמה זמנים קצימים ומישחים שעברו ועשו פלאות <sup>1</sup> : ע' ברך ב' דקצ"ט ע"ב וכוך א' דף כ"ב ע"א : cf. Zunz, *Gesammelte Schriften*, III., 224.

ספרים דף ק"ז ע"א . היב' התחיל לחבר חיבורו שנת ר'ב והשלימו <sup>2</sup> : שנת ש"ב :

ד"ה דף ע"א ע"א . בכל הלשונו נתערב לשון הקודש . ומלה ב"ר בל"א <sup>3</sup> : בר געלט כמו לוייט געלט . ע' ברך א' דפ"ד ע"א :

ד"ה דברכ"א ע"א . פ"י מלת נו"ל שהוא בלטינן מלשון כתוב נולי יתעבר <sup>4</sup> : בעורא ו' [11] :

ספר"י דף צ"ח ע"א . מה שהעתיקו חכמי א"ה בספריהם קニア דרבא <sup>5</sup> : ומעשה דרבי בנהה חבוטי קברא דאכובן בשינוי קצת :

ג"ז [חקירה] דף פ"ז ע"ב . שאלת חכמיים עלם החדר שנמצאו בה <sup>6</sup> : רבבות בני אדם ובבעלי חיים איך באו לשם אחר המבול :

ג"ז [חוירושין] דף צ"ח ע"א . מ"ש פילא היהודי שארדה"ר הוליד עוד י"ב <sup>7</sup> : בנים וט' בנות ולפי זה אינו מוכחה שקין נשא אחותו :

מנהנ"י דף ק"ז ע"ב . אין להלעיג על שום מנהג אף שאין לו טעם כנون <sup>8</sup> :

נ"ז ; פרפראי דף קכ"ג ע"ב . ר"ת שבכוטלי בה"כ . סמו"ט דמשיק אט"ליס :

שםלדר' : cp. Schudt, *Jüdische Merckwürdigkeiten*, III.

ספר"י דר"ח קונטראיס" ויבוחים ודרבי ניצוח והעתיקות מספר מלומד <sup>9</sup> :

וני זלדר . מ"ש באלה ע' ברך ה' דס"א וס"ב [ספרים דף ס"א וס"ב . ל' קוממי

ספרי ניצחון וסכר חכם מחכמיים בינוו וואני זאל . נצרכים לזכות ע'

is as much interested in the personal individuality of Bachya b. Joseph,<sup>1</sup> as he is eager to defend Maimuni against the suspicions of Abravanel.<sup>2</sup>

But even if originally Bacharach intended to make an index only to seven volumes of his *Collectanea*, he, nevertheless, soon began to do the same to other volumes, which were all duly numbered, and the valuable contents of which were as deserving of an exhaustive description as the others. By these means we obtain a still deeper insight into his earnest mind that was so deeply attached to every written memorial of the past and so careful in preserving every literary tradition. We see how his example stirred up his younger friend R. David Oppenheim, who, unlike himself, was favoured by opportunity and unlimited wealth, to carry out on a large scale the scheme that had been to R. Jair only a longed-for and unattainable ideal, viz., the foundation of a collection of every work both in print and in MS. that was connected with Jewish literature.

An eighth volume, brimful of rich material, was not yet ready for indexing when he was busy describing in detail the others, owing to the additions that it received every day.<sup>3</sup>

He thought that Vol. IX. fully deserved and required an exact description. Besides Talmudical treatises, it contained the discourses he delivered on the occasion of the conclusion of his lectures upon the single tractates of the

חכמת ק"נ ע"א . מי היה המחבר ספר חובות הלבבות ומש בהקדמה<sup>1</sup> המלומד הנדרל הגוּשׁוֹן תלאוֹת סָתָן, p. 121, where he also calls him וואני זאליר

חכמת ק"נ ע"א . מי היה המחבר ספר חובות הלבבות ומש בהקדמה<sup>1</sup> תוכחה על הלומדי"ד דיני גירושין ולא ידעו עניין מצות: ספרי"ד דף ק"ב ע"ב . תלונה רבה על הר"א בכמה דברים ובפרט שחשד<sup>2</sup> להרמב"ם שהכחיש ששת ימי המעשה:

ברך ח' עוד יש בידי, ע"ה יומם ורשותם בראשי דפין רק עדין לא נרמש

הדברים בסימנים כז' כרכים الآחרים . כי לרשם בכרך זה אין מקום

<sup>3</sup> P. 114a of the Index contains this one remark,

Mishna and the Talmud, the Masoretic explanations of his father, and important funeral orations.<sup>1</sup> Here we find reference to the funeral orations delivered by R. Samson Bacharach upon his father, upon R. Samuel Edels (died 1632), upon R. David, Rabbi of Dresdnitz in Moravia (died 1639), upon the preacher, R. Loeb, of Mayence (1644), and upon R. Jonah Teomim, of Metz (died 1669),<sup>2</sup> as well as to memorial addresses by R. Jair himself upon R. Jonah Teomim, R. Jerucham, R. Isaac, of Mannheim, who was his brother-in-law, upon another brother-in-law, R. Moses Brilin, upon a relative named R. Nathan b. Jechiel, upon the warden, Baruch, upon the pious R. Sussmann, and R. Gershon Ashkenazi.<sup>3</sup>

ברך ט' סימני משניות . וסימני—<sup>1</sup> The Index, p. 114a, thus describes it: מסכחות . מסורות . והספרות . וחידושים הרא"ש על איזה מסכחות וחידושים ברכות ועוד איזה הלכות : In pp. 114a-115a, 48 leaves of the MS., which must have had four kinds of pagination, are described; in p. 116a, 19 leaves which were especially numbered, are described, and they contain the discourses upon the Talmud: p. 116b, deals with the Masoretic notes; p. 117a with the comments to Asheri, and Talmudical discussions in which both he and his father were engaged; and p. 117b enumerates the funeral orations that took up thirty-nine leaves that were especially numbered.

דף א' ב'ג' ד' דריש הספר מא"א הגז'ל על קבר אביו זקנין מוהר"ש זצ"ל <sup>2</sup>  
דף ח'ז' דריש הספר מא"א הגז'ל . שצ"ב על הנאון מההר"ש אדרילש :  
דף ז'ח' עוד ממנה על הנאוני מהר"ד אב"ר מדרעוניין ומההר"ל דרשן : [v. Zunz, *Litg.*, 432].

דף ט' ר"א עוד הספר סתום :  
דף י'ג' עוד הספר על הנאון מההר יונה אב"ד ממיין :  
דף י'ט' דריש על ר' ירוחם זל' . ממנין :  
דף ב' וכ'א' הספר על הנאון מההר יונה הניל' ממנין בארכוי' וביאור כמה  
מאמרי' על שאלות וועל בית הדרמים : גמ' הנעלבים [Gittin, 36b] סוף פ'  
שירת דברה ואוחביו בצתת שםש :  
דף כ"ב' הספר על ניס' הרב ממנה"י' כמההר איצק זצ'ל . מזמור מי יגור  
באהלהך :  
דף כ"ג' פשת ערום יצאתי על מהותני ר' נתן בן ר' ייחיאל . גם גמ' כל  
הקובע מקום וכוכ' [Ber. 6b] :  
דף כ"ד כ"ה' דריש על פ'ז' ר' ברוך זל' :  
דף כ"ז' כ"ה' על ניסי החסיד מההר משה זל' גמ' דהו' בכ' דבמס' מ"ק :

In Vol. XI. he had gathered together the fruits of his reading, the account<sup>1</sup> of which gives us an insight into the extent and variety of his general studies. Grammarians and exegetes, philosophers and historians, preachers and books of *Responsa*—all had been equally the objects of his attention. He also gives excerpts from manuscripts<sup>2</sup> that were only temporarily in his possession. As it was his habit to introduce everywhere some remarks of his own, he frequently intermingled independent observations with his *Collectanea*, and when he did so he noted down in the Index the sources of his information.<sup>3</sup> This list of extracts from the books of others he completes by a *résumé* of the excerpts scattered throughout the seven chief volumes.<sup>4</sup>

In Vol. XVI. we are informed of the existence of a MS. which contained, in addition to notes by his father and grandfather, also portions from the pens of other authorities, such as R. Moses Cohen Narol, whose writings came into the possession of the family of Bacharach through his

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עד לא על איש צדיק ר' זוסמו"ל :  
דף ל"ט . על הנאון מוהרגן מה' אב"ר ממי'ץ ז"ל :

<sup>1</sup> P. 108a of the Index is thus headed: *ליקוטים יפים מספרים הרשומים. ודברים תורני וחדושים שחדשתי והשנתן לפעמים עלייהם*. This description of the works he read occupies 209 leaves: p. 108b concludes this retrospect.

<sup>2</sup> Thus, e.g., *דף מג עד נ"א*, *ספר פרחן דקדק נ"א*; *דף ל' פ' מחוזר קלף ע"א*, *ספר כחוב וע"ב*. *גמתריאו' מתחוקים על ספר קלף ישן ע"ז*. *ספר ייילין הוקן מאורעות ר' יוסטמן רושהים XVI. 85, sqq.*

*דברים תורני' שאינם נוגעים בספרים*: <sup>3</sup> Pp. 106a-107a has the heading: *הרש[ו]ת[מ]ים בדף ק'ח ע"א רך לפי שעה כתבת[י] א[ת]ותם אצ[ל]ם בדף י"א ורשות[י] א[ת]ותם פה בדף י"א ע' רשות[י] סוף ספר זה ולקמן דק'ח ע"א*. This index at the end of the volume, to which he often alludes, is missing in the MS.; perhaps it was also only intended to be drawn up, but was never done.

*רשימת ליקוטי קצת ספרי זילתי ספרים*: <sup>4</sup> P. 108b has this heading: *[i.e., p. 108a]*, i.e., in the *seven volumes* to which he exclusively refers in these remarks.

widow; R. David Blum, Rabbi of Sulzburg in Baden; and R. Elijah Loans, of Worms.<sup>1</sup>

A detailed index was also wanted for Vol: XVII., which originally comprised 117 pages.<sup>2</sup> Having been begun when he was a youth, its contents had been partly passed over and partly transferred to other volumes. Thus afterwards whole pages of it were thrown into the fire, and others struck out. But what remained was of sufficient value as to merit a minute description. In addition to remarks upon his nightly dreams, in which he continued his studies<sup>3</sup> and speculations upon the form of the shield of David,<sup>4</sup> we also find here the reflection that the learned students of the Law, who apparently were maintained by the working classes, really were the supports of the latter.<sup>5</sup> Already there reveals itself in his youthful mind that many-sidedness and interest in all kinds of knowledge that afterwards so characterised him when in maturer years. In the midst of Talmudical studies there

ברך ט"ז . לבני ר"ש  
<sup>1</sup> P. 123b of the Index contains the distinct note, among others, the following are enumerated:—

ביאורי חלק א"ח מוקוני הנאון במוואר"ש :

הנה, על הרא"ש על כמה מסכחות . מא"א הגז"ל :

הנה, על המרדרי מא"או הגז"ל הנ"ל :

קונטרסים פרפראות נפלאות מהגאון מוהר"ם נהראל :

קונטרסים ממחר דוד בלומא מזולצברג :

ב' קונטרסים כ"י הגאון מוהר אל"י בעל שם על הזוהר מספרו מדות אל"י והקדמתו . ולפי הנשמע כל הספר ביד יוצאי חלצין והיה בנו ר' יולין : בمعنى :

2 The description of it in the Index extends from p. 109a-112a, and bears the following heading:—  
 ברך י"ז אשר כתבתי בימי חורפי מן הבא :  
 ברעינוי ק"ב דפין רק מפני שרובה דרובה כבר נעתקו בכריכים אחרים  
 ומקצתם לא ישרו עביני لكن שרפתי מהם כמה דפין ומחנשא"ר העברתי  
 קולמים על אותן שכבר הועתקו או דוחזינא בהו תיוהה ומעוטם הנשארים  
 שריריים וקיים מפוזרים אינה ו安娜 וחפצתי להעתיק פה סמנים מהם  
 וראשי פרקים [ע' רשותה סוף ספר זה.  
 [sc.

ד"ת דף ט"ז . נראה לי בחולם קושיא ותירץ על אין מקיפין בחילול השם :

פרפראו" דף ט"ז . סוד צורת מגן דוד :

ד"ת דף ל"ה . מה שבמורות ת"ח נידוני מע"ה . ובמושכל להיפך :

appear notices upon the ritual at Metz,<sup>1</sup> and critical glosses to the editions of Jewish chronicles.<sup>2</sup>

In Vol. XVIII. three collections were combined, viz., his own decisions when a Rabbi, and forms of documents, such as bills of divorce and of chaliza; secondly, items from the official actions of his father concerning the same subjects, and, finally, the opinions of older authorities upon similar questions.<sup>3</sup>

Vol. XIX., according to its description, contained a large and elaborate work of his father upon the 613 commandments, a Will of R. Samson Bacharach, that is full of testimony to his profound piety, and an ethical letter of admonition to his children.<sup>4</sup>

In Vol. XX. he had collected his marginal notes upon certain well-known works, such as the *Two Tables of the Covenant*, of R. Isaiah Hurwitz, and the famous book of

<sup>1</sup> מהני דף ט. מנהנים רק"ק מץ :

ספריו דף פ"ח ע"א. השגה על היוסחין בשני דורות ר"ת והראב"ן :

<sup>2</sup> ספריו דף ק"ו ע"א. השגות על בעל הש"ק בשני דורות :

<sup>3</sup> On p. 112a, at the end of the Index to vol. XVII., appears the remark : אחר רך י"ז הנ"ל הנחותי ברך רשות י"ח והוא מה שאירע לי בניטין שסדרתי ובהם כמה חドשים דיןיהם הילכה למעשה והם קבוצי דפין וביבם ומקראיהם וויניהם נס סדר נט וחיליצה בקצרה וקלפי גיטין עצמן אבל דפין קטנים מאר כי א"א הגזיל בניטין שסידר הוא עם ברך נдол של הניטין עצמן הוא בכרך אחר מלבד ברך סידורי גיטין וחילצות על דפין נדולים כמלא ספר גROL מגנולי הקדרמוניים והוא בכרך רושם ומ"מ שיר לושם י"ח זה :

<sup>4</sup> On p. 113a of the Index are the following words : ברך י"ט בכרך גדול : מאד כי א"א גזיל במנין תרי"ג מצות ותנוני בכל יום ומזה שנכשלין בהם ותוכחה :

ברך גROL יותר מאד ממי ומזה שנחלקו גROLי הקדרמוני במנין קצת מ"ע ומלה"ת ומה שנלע"ד . גם מה יאמר לפניו ע"שיות כמה וכמה מ"ע אשר לא יסדו הייל לברך עליהם והשגות על ספר מגילות אסתור :

ברך צוואת א"א הגזיל בכתב ידו ובו יראה גROL חסידתו ע' ברך ל"ט . עוד צוואת מוסר לווצאי חלציו כללים וקצת דברים פרטם שמצויר

ומצויה לבניו וו"ח. קצחים הנחת[ין] אצל צוואת של :

קונטרס גROL בענין ר' לא שערם פנים ואחרו ונפלאות במספר צירופי המלות מקטן ועד גROL :

R. Joshua Falk Cohen, and explanatory remarks upon the Midrashim.<sup>1</sup>

In another section of this miscellany, to which R. Jair was especially attached, we become acquainted, thanks to the minute catalogue of the contents of Vol. XXII., with the poems and prayers of his father,<sup>2</sup> which he inserted in the index, after the pattern of the author. Is it owing to its stout binding, or to any other external circumstance, that this book alone, among all the huge collection that was brought together with so much love by their owner,<sup>3</sup> has come down to posterity? From this favourite volume of Bacharach are taken the poems that he could not omit to reproduce<sup>4</sup> in memory of their composer.

In Vol. XXIII. there were a number of manuscripts, some his own work, such as the plan of the introduction to his *Mekor Chayim*, and of the *Ez Chayim*, and others written by his father.<sup>5</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> On p. 122a of the Index we read: **כרך נדול חדשין עין :**  
 יעקב וחידושים מהרשה"א הגה' וחידושים מודרש רבה וילקוט :  
**כרך נדול העתקות מש' בנוין ספר של'ה :**  
**כרך נדול מש' בנליינו סט'ע וקצת חידושים :**  
**כרך נדול על חדשין פ' רשי וצדקה לדרכ בתרורה :**

Originally the words in No. 1., were also included here: **נדפס בח"י** (קונטראים רבים השנה על בעל מהדורו שנייה דנדפס במה ששהשין עלי'. והעתק מר' הירש הענא) נדפס בג"ה ע. רישימה סוף ספר זה:

**כרך כ"ב . כרך קטן מאד מאד :** P. 125a of the Index has the heading: **מכורך בדף עין ומסגרת יפה יפה כ"א הגז'** הם שירות והודאות וסלחונות ותחינות וירויים ובסופו מראה מקום **לפי הדףין והעתקתי** מה המראה **מקום לשונו** מלה המלאה :

<sup>3</sup> The MS. was in the possession of Jacob Koppel, Rabbi of Worms, who, in 1848, published some of the poems of R. Samson Bacharach, in the journal **שומר ציון הנאמן** 108b, 110b, 118b, 120a, 132b, 138b, 148b, 152b, 156a. <sup>4</sup> **ח'ות יאיר**, pp. 223a-229a, 274b-275a.

**כרך כ"ג . ע. רישימה סוף** <sup>5</sup> **קונטרם ק' גלגולים מהאר"ז זיל כ"א הגז'** ל, we have enumerated, **ספר זה**, **קונטרם מנדולי הקרטוני נחשים על הוצאה לעז על** המשפטות clearly

One of the pearls of the collection is Vol. XXIV., which is mainly devoted to historical notes, and to original, contemporary, and ancient poems, many by men who were altogether unknown as poets. Here, too, we find the memoirs of R. Moses Cohen Narol, which R. Jair's stepmother had brought from Metz, and which consist of penitential prayers and accounts of the persecutions of 1648 and 1656, as well as of events occurring in Metz.<sup>1</sup> A special value is attached to this volume from its dealing with family matters. It contains the genealogical tree of his father and mother, the memoirs of the unhappy year (1666) of the plague in Worms, the account of the invitation of the tall R. Löw to appear before the Emperor Rudolf II., and the text of the amulets that he prepared for that monarch. At the end of this volume were also the letters from relatives and friends that Bacharach deemed worthy of special description.<sup>2</sup>

Memorials of inestimable historical value were gathered together in Vol. XXXV. Although many of these documents had been burnt and lost, yet the remnant of

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as a reference to the *Responsa* upon the so-called "Pin-maker's" question; cp. S. Hock, in *Gal-Ed*, p. 16, note 18,—

אייה פשטים נפרדים מא"א הג"ז קצתם נזכרו בספרו שמן המאויר  
פתחים קטנים נפרדים מא"א הג"ז שי"כ לט"ז וש"ב לח"ק י"ד  
כרך גדוֹל קבלה מעשיות נתתי במתנה לה"ה אב"ד ראש ישיבה קלויז  
מהדר שטואל שאטי בהיותי שם ורנקוּרט קי"ז תנ"ט :

This volume also contained the introduction of the *Mekor Chayim*, part of the letters of approval of the same, and the plan of the *Ez Chayim*; thus Bacharach describes it: בכרך הסכימות גדוֹל הדור רבני אשכנז על ספרי מ"ח נדפס בספר ח"י (all this is struck out) מ"ח בכרך יפה אצל ספר מ"ח הקדימה שייננה לספרי מ"ח וענינו וכל השישיך לחיבור כל הכרכים. נכתב כי ר' הירש הענא אצל שוו"ת שהעתיק ק' ביגז'ון ונורפה בשות' ח"י. By the aid of this quotation, we can now understand the words in ב"ג ב'ירתי ח'ות יאר, p. 230b, and ב'ג ב'ירתי ח'ות יאר, p. 230b.

<sup>1</sup> Among these, I include the documents about the dispute between R. Meir Lublin and R. Joseph Ashkenas, of Metz; cp. Kaufmann, *Révue des Études Juives*, XXII.

<sup>2</sup> P. 119a, b, and p. 126a contain the Index of this volume.

them contained such important fragments that a detailed description of them seemed fully justified.<sup>1</sup> The records of the Sabbatian agitation of the year 1666, and the correspondence that both he and his father carried on during this exciting time, had an especially personal interest for Bacharach. In this volume were also carefully collected historical notes of apparently slight importance, such as the affair of the confiscation of books in Frankfurt-on-the-Main<sup>2</sup> in 1509-10, a proof of the enlightened historical tendencies of the collector's mind.

Vol. XXXVII. contained a special work of his grandfather upon the Talmudic tractate Baba Mezia.<sup>3</sup>

In Vol. XLVI. of this collection were included the poems of his father, the majority of which were taken from Vol. XXII., besides other poems and imperfect fragments of his own composition, and poems of an historical and religious purport of other authorities. This section Bacharach has furnished with a special table of contents.<sup>4</sup> Testimony to his historical bent of mind, which despised no source of historical information, and also extended to the examination of tombstones, is afforded here by his remarks upon the inscriptions upon the graves of R. Meir, of Rothenburg, and his noble benefactor, Alexander, which were in the cemetery at Worms.<sup>5</sup> We have also here the family-tree that R. Jair drew up, making important additions to the statements imparted to him by his father. In this part he also wrote out<sup>6</sup> an historical work of his, in

<sup>1</sup> According to p. 113a of the Index.

<sup>2</sup> Cp. the description of the MS. No. 7 of the *Rosenthaliana*, in the Catalogue of M. Roest, p. 1170, and Kracauer, in *Zeitschrift für die Geschichte der Juden in Deutschland*, I. 160 sq.

<sup>3</sup> Mentioned by the way in the Index to vol. xxxv.

<sup>4</sup> According to p. 125a of the Index.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. Lewysohn, Nos. 21 and 22.

<sup>6</sup> At the end of the description of vol. xxxv. are the words, **קונטראים** **משלשלת נROLE** "חכמי צraft וספרד ופוסקי שאחריהם עד היום · מהגאנונים הוא בכרך · All this is crossed out and replaced by the words, **מ"ז עליך** [= עין לקטן] **דרכיה ע"ב**.

which he tried to establish a continuous chain of students of the Talmud from father to son, from teacher to pupil, from the time of the Gaonim down to almost his own time.

This commencement of a catalogue to his collection of MSS. continued by Bacharach, after he had left Worms, in his exile at Frankfurt,<sup>1</sup> proves to us most distinctly that in spite of his life-long habit of constantly taking notes, in spite of a superabundance of productions of all kinds, in spite of systematic and extensive diligence in collecting—by which labour he might have been able to publish something—in spite of all this, he never had anything ready to hand that need only have been shown in order to be printed at once. Stimulated by a sort of hunger for fresh knowledge, always engaged in collecting and writing down scientific facts and discoveries, restless in his gathering together notes like a student, and like a busy bee searching through all fields of learning, he may have almost felt that the honey was in his possession, when the bitter experience was brought home to him that he no longer had the power of extracting it.

The most striking example of this torment of Tantalus, to die of thirst in sight of flowing water, is offered by the work that has come down to us bodily, and not as a mere bibliographical shadow, viz., the manuscript of Mar Keshisha,<sup>2</sup> which is a dictionary of the terminology and

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<sup>1</sup> This follows from what is said in preface to the *Jair Nathib*, which towards the end, describes his work as a lecturer at Worms.

<sup>2</sup> Which is preserved in the Beth-Hamidrash at Vienna. It is evident that this was only afterwards bound at the end of the volume containing the work written against R. Aaron Teomim, that originally had a special pagination. From the 201 leaves that (with the exception of the Preface to the *Jair Nathib*) are numbered on the lower left margin with Arabic numerals, 126b-201b, belong to the Mar Keshisha's work. In the middle of the top of the page next to the title, Bacharach wrote the numbers in the current Hebrew alphabet, and as he begins with p. 4, and leaves off with the page before the last, he only counts 150 sides (כ"ה קשישא). Till p. 177, where the additions begin, on the left-hand corner of the upper margin of the right side of the page, the

methodology of the Talmud, in the widest sense of the words. It can be boldly averred that seldom has a collection of material for any branch of knowledge been attempted in such magnitude, and with such comprehensive observation of all facts connected therewith as in this one.

Whatever his deep research in the oft-repeated journey over the sea that was called the Talmud, had brought to the surface, was here collected. Every letter, every word, every formula, every rule that was in any way connected with the terminology and methods of the Talmud, was here dwelt upon, and elucidated with the most extensive reference to the large body of literature belonging thereto. Only a personal examination of this<sup>1</sup> material can give any idea of the richness of it. Seventy-six quarto leaves are covered with his delicate and well-formed handwriting, that looks at first as if it were hopelessly confused, but in reality is wonderfully clear, and reveals to us the fact that the writer was shortsighted. In the history of the study of the Talmud, this work ought to have made an epoch by its truthfulness and simplicity, its acquaintance with scientific methods, and its merciless severity against all useless ingenuity and Pilpulistic disputations.<sup>2</sup> But this treasury with its almost immeasur-

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Hebrew letter, with which each article begins, is always given. Three full octavo leaves with notices upon the work are in sheets in the book.

<sup>1</sup> J. H. Weiss was engaged with the plan of an edition of it; v., Kochbe Jizchak, 36, 85, *sqq.*, and Geiger, *Jüdische Zeitschrift*, VIII., 222 *sqq.*

<sup>2</sup> As an example, I quote an article from p. 135a:—

לא מצא ידיו ורגלו בבה"מ . יבמות ע"ז ע"ב . כתובות דמ"ח ע"א .  
 ניטין ספ"ד . נ"ל שיחת ת"ח אף כי מרגל בפי כל ציריך לימוד כי מ"ש  
 ידיו הוא בענין מ"ש רז"ל בסוטה [ט. f.] שלא הוא יודע יהודה למשקל  
 ימטרח בשמעות, עד שאמר מ"ה ע"ה ידיו רב לו מפני שכלי דבר תורה  
 יוחס לידיים בדורך השאלה מפני שע"י היד של אדם פועל הכל יחי  
 נודע فهو וכמ"ש היד ה' תקצר . ולא פוקי מפי' בעל זיקוקין דנורא דכ"ז  
 שעינינו פלפול הנעשה ע"י סיפוק ידיים כי לדעתינו אותה הננהנה משובשת  
 וכל המרבה בה הידי זה משונע והארכינו בזה בסוף הקדמתינו לספר

able wealth was scarcely a useful possession even for its owner ; it was quite impossible for him to make it accessible to others. His eye hardly retained the power to penetrate this forest that had grown round the text in the course of years in the form of glosses ; he was too weak and infirm to enter once again upon the researches, the results of which were here hinted at with extreme brevity rather than fully described, and to re-tread the path which he had traversed long ago. As the ominous title foreboded, he had become "the old man" who no longer had the strength to lift up the treasures that a life of unceasing industry and self-denial had accumulated.

Whilst in this condition, the only evidences of any healthy interruption in the progress of his activity in constantly acquiring new knowledge, were the public decisions, now the sole memorials of his productive labour, that were evoked from him by numerous questions from all sides. Through this channel he had an opportunity of displaying his rich store, which, thanks to the clearness of his index, he was easily able to extract from his *Collectanea*.

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מטה אהרן ב' רבי חנוך ירושלמי הוא מכל נועם ואפילו ת"ח שבבבל לא נקרא חובלוי ע"ז הירדים חלילח רק ע"ז סתרת כל א' את דבר חברו ע"ז כה גדול ויד חזקה בפלפלול . ומ"ש רגלו הוא אסוקי שמעתת' אלובי" דהילכתא שאחר שקלא וטוריא שעליון אמר מ"עה ועוז מצריו והוא לשון קיומ ועמידת הרבר נ"ב לשון מושאל וכמ"ש אמת יש לו רגלים ובמשנה שרגליים לדבר בכתרא דנזר . עמ"ש תי"ט סוף משנה ראשונה דאבות על והעמידו תלמידי א' דשם לפענ"ר א"צ לפנים כי הוא לשון חז"ל בפרט בדבר חשוב ומכויים כבפ"ב רסוכה העמיד מלכים העמיד שופטיו והוא לשון חшибו' כת"ש ויקם מלך חדש וככ"ז והטיב חרחה לי על רוב דבריו בזה : ג"ש לא נמייר עמ"ש ערך עמידה *e.g.*, in the article p. 133<sup>25</sup> בכמה מקומות ומפני כי איש חסיד היה חיללה לי לפגוע [p. 25] ובכalfa בכמה מקומות ומפני כי איש חסיד היה חיללה לי לפגוע בכבورو ולגנוו בקציהו . עמ"ש סוף הקדמת ספרי מטה אהרןThroughout the whole work Bacharach displays his thorough acquaintance with the Commentary to the Mishna of R. Lipman Heller, whom he calls (in חותם הרב אוצר בלום ההוא בעל תי"ט, p. 110<sup>a</sup>),

In innumerable discussions, *pro* and *con*, he had at hand, in his seven principal volumes that were fully indexed, the familiar materials for his work, that were like a favourite garden through which he was never too tired to walk. With these excellent aids, it was not difficult to indicate to Hirsch Fränkel<sup>1</sup> and other copyists and amanuenses, among whom we are informed of a R. Elisha<sup>2</sup> and R. Samuel,<sup>3</sup> the passages from his *Collectanea* that were to be embodied in his miscellaneous *Responsa*.

This collection was to comprise 635 *Responsa*, the title of which, *Chavoth Jair*, was to equal that number in the numerical value of its letters, and was to have the further advantage of combining within itself other noteworthy plays upon words.<sup>4</sup> Thus, in contrast to the old works of *Responsa* that were like fortified cities, his modest expressions of opinion were only to be "the villages of Jair," and besides alluding to his name Chayim, were to preserve the memory of the learned grand-daughter of the tall R. Löw, the female founder of his house, by denoting the author as "the Jair of Eve (Chava)." But when only a third part of his *Responsa* had been printed, and he saw that they already formed a goodly volume, he resolved, in consequence of some deep-meaning allusions,<sup>5</sup> to issue in the first volume only 238, the numerical value of his family name (though on closer inspection, it really amounted to 242), to which, at the last moment, he added some especially important newly-received *Responsa* of his friend, R. David Oppenheim.<sup>6</sup> The inclusion of the prefaces to his original

<sup>1</sup> The first note in the *Jair Nathib* observes: כל מקום שנכתב אצלו ב"ג ור"ל בדף גודלים הועתק מכ"ר הירש הענא על דפי קוווארטן

<sup>2</sup> In the beginning of the *Jair Nathib*, Bacharach says: "Three short perpendicular lines at the side of any headline in the Index, denotes that this piece was copied by R. Elisha"; ||| רושם ג' קווים קטני' בסופו סימן שהועתק בכ"ר ר' אלישע.

<sup>3</sup> In the same way four dots show the work of R. Samuel: הועתק ע"ר' שמואל.

<sup>4</sup> V. the Preface.

<sup>5</sup> Ib., p. 229a: 4 + י"א + ט"ו = 242.

<sup>6</sup> Ib., p. 239a-p. 250a.

larger works, as well as of the letters of approbation to the *Mekor Chayim*, and of several references to his *Collectanea*,<sup>1</sup> and to the *Mar Keshisha*,<sup>2</sup> was to furnish some idea of the sum total of his life's work, even though he was prevented from making public the whole of it.

But it did not require this external indication to enable every clear-sighted person to see that with this work a scholar had come forward who was thoroughly conversant with every possible branch of learning, and every page of whose book bristled with proofs of the fulness of knowledge that was at the disposal of the author. What now appeared was something quite new and original, a collection of opinions that struck out a line for itself, that was independent and exhaustive in the solution of questions, highly suggestive in its manner of propounding problems, possessed of a thorough mastery over the sources of information, and supported by a remarkable knowledge of general literature. A series of auxiliary sciences had here been pressed into the service of the study of the Talmud: the spirit of R. Lipman Heller was now resuscitated. The general tendency of the whole was no longer a display of quibbling ingenuity, but a dignified erudition, that drew its origin from the most hidden sources. Emulating the example of Estori Parchi in his knowledge of the historical sciences, he again discussed the coins and weights and measures of the Talmud;<sup>3</sup> following Joseph del Medigo<sup>4</sup> he treated of mathematics and astro-

זה הוא הטעם בעינו מ"ש באיזה מקומות עין: <sup>1</sup> ו. in the Preface; <sup>2</sup> בסמ"ק והוא ספרי מר קשישא או בקונטראס"ר כרך פלוני דף פלוני; ואיזה דברים ממה כתבתי בכריכים; compare also p. 165a, p. 185b, and p. 230b, <sup>3</sup> ע"ל בקונטראס"ר; <sup>4</sup> ובכרך כ"ג, compare also p. 152.

<sup>2</sup> Compare also reckons among the abbreviations on p. 276b. At the end of No. 152 occur the words, *יש עוד בכח"ג לשונו* קשות ביארנו בג"ה בספרי מ"ק.

<sup>3</sup> Compare *יאיר*, *Resp.* 1.; *v. Zunz, Zur Geschichte*, p. 536.

<sup>4</sup> The idea of the publication of a special work by Bacharach upon Joseph del Medigo, mentioned in Zunz's *Monatstage*, p. 1, rests upon the passage in *חוות החנני*, p. 112a. He had seen Joseph, when a boy, in

nomy<sup>1</sup> with the acumen of the specialist, and through the thoroughness and richness of his observations<sup>2</sup> he started a new school in the study of the Talmud. In the midst of these Talmudic *Responsa*, he revealed a mind that was equally at home in problems of religious philosophy<sup>3</sup> as in the mysteries of the Cabbala,<sup>4</sup> and that had passed the school of secular culture<sup>5</sup> in general and the study of natural science in particular.<sup>6</sup> An implacable enemy to

Prague, and also when he visited Worms, in 1652, as he himself states in **כִּי רִישָׁר בִּימֵי הִיאָה וְהַכְּרָתָיו בְּהַיּוֹתָו בְּפְרָאנְג וּבְבָאוֹ, חֻות יָאִיר;** compare Horovitz, *Jüdische Aerzte*, p. 25, note 2.

<sup>1</sup> Compare, *e.g.*, *Resp.*, 155, 172, and p. 266-67a, 219, where his numerous astronomical labours are mentioned.

<sup>2</sup> In **חֻות יָאִיר**, No. 94, p. 91a, a friend there named had already remarked the incomparable character of the methodological writings of Bacharach. A careful comparison of this *Responsum*, as well as of the famous No. 192 with the text in the MS. of the **מָר קַשְׁיָשָׁא**, convinces me that the printed portion represents a revision and expansion of the rough materials here collected.

<sup>3</sup> From p. 198b, we learn that Bacharach has also written a work upon the *Moreh* of Maimuni, **וְהַאֲרָכָנוּ בְּגַזְעָה בְּחִידּוֹשֵׁי מַיְנָן**.

<sup>4</sup> Compare *Resp.* 210.

<sup>5</sup> Compare *Resp.* 206. On f. 104b he also mentions a polyglot Bible of the New Testament, in sixteen languages, that he had seen. Compare his remarks upon the antiquity of printing, and how books used to be printed, in *Resp.* 185; he speaks of the German translation of the Bible, p. 206b, last line.

<sup>6</sup> In the remarkable *Resp.* 233, he reckons up the miracles and incomprehensible phenomena in Nature, that distinctly support the idea of transcendental mysteries, compare 234. The self-contradictions of the statements of scientists, especially among astronomers, that he mentions in the learned *Resp.* 219, has induced him (as we see on f. 204a) to throw into the fire with his own hand his researches in this abtruse subject: **אָפָּכִי קְמָתִי בְּשָׁחָר וְשָׁרֶפֶתִי בְּחַמְתִי וּמָר נְפָשִׁי כְּמָה גּוּוֹלִין וְנִירּוֹת חַבְלָתִי**. **גַּעֲשֵׁי יְדִי אֲשֶׁר טָרָחוּ בָּו וְמַן רַב**. His ardent longing for knowledge that is manifested in this *Responsum*, which altogether breathes a modern spirit, leads us to wish we might see a translation of, and scientific investigation into it. Thus, on f. 206b, he also speaks of how he refuted the argument of a Christian scholar who defended the alteration of the Sabbath to Sunday on the plea that one day had been lost when, in the time of Joshua, the sun stood still, by showing to him that in that case the Mohammedan were right in observing Friday as the day of rest.

Pilpul,<sup>1</sup> he disarmed all opposition by his profound knowledge of the sources of his statements, a knowledge that enabled him to point out, even to great scholars, what they had overlooked or said incorrectly.<sup>2</sup>

A glance through his volumes of *Collectanea* suggested all sorts of important additions, some of which he determined to subjoin to his first volume, but of which he decided to reserve the greater part for the second, that was to include the remainder of his *Responsa*, but which never appeared. The house of Oppenheim in Vienna, Samuel Oppenheim and his sons Emanuel and Wolf, in conjunction with Samson Wertheimer, defrayed the expenses of printing<sup>3</sup>; and in the spring of 1699 the work issued from the press of the Frankfurt printer Johannes Wust.

Owing to his feeble health and consequent need of rest Bacharach had not troubled to obtain testimonials from strangers, though he could readily have procured them from all sides. He limited himself to his friends in Frankfurt. R. Gabriel Eskeles, of Metz, who, as a descendant of the tall R. Löw, was his kinsman, and who was just then staying in Frankfurt (1698) whilst on a journey; R. David Oppenheim, in Nicolburg, and R. Samson Wertheimer, in Vienna, both of whom had heard of his work of *Responsa* from Worms<sup>4</sup>—these were the only strangers whose

<sup>1</sup> Compare the end of the pedagogic *Responsum*, No. 123, and the observations of R. Samson in Nos. 124 and 152; for the high esteem in which he held Hebrew grammar, see f. 206a, b.

<sup>2</sup> The extreme independence of Bacharach is shown, for instance, in *Resp.* 20, that is so replete with proofs of the extensive range of his reading, and that had already been published in *חות השנוי*. In this, he points out from Rashi, Maimuni, Elijah Misrachi, and R. Isachar Bär Eulenburg, whom he esteemed so highly, how even the greatest authorities can err. By comparing p. 24b with p. 108b, it will be further seen that Bacharach had this sheet reprinted after the whole collection of *Responsa* had been already printed.

<sup>3</sup> Kaufmann, *Samson Wertheimer*, p. 57, note 2.

<sup>4</sup> Bacharach's words at the end of the testimonials: *ב' שני המאורות מה ראו בביתם ובגנובם בק' ויורמישא רובה דמיינר הנדולים הרחוקים מה ראו בביתם ובגנובם בק' ויורמישא רובה דמיינר מן התשובהות בהיותם אתי עמי במחיצתי*.

warm expressions of approval he prefixed to his book. Joseph Samuel b. Zebi,<sup>1</sup> the Rabbi in Frankfurt, led the way, and R. Samuel Cohen Schotten and Naphtali Herz Gans ended the list of friends who signified their esteem for Bacharach by giving their letters of approbation to his work.

It was characteristic of the fate of this man, hardened in misfortunes, that the sun just began to rise in the heaven of his life when evening was drawing nigh. Now, when his renown was being spread abroad on the wings of his book, he had become a prematurely aged man, who had surrendered all his once fondly cherished hopes, and had learned that resignation<sup>2</sup> which is too often the only guerdon of conscientious toil. Had he been still young and strong, he would not have had to wait long for a summons from some important community, a realisation of his hopes, for which he had hitherto been fruitlessly longing. For we need not seek the causes of his isolation and ill-success in any traits in his character, which the all-effacing hand of time might have obliterated. It is at once obvious that this man, whom unknown circumstances had condemned to the obscurity of private life, after a too brief period of public activity, has been unable to rise again, in spite of the appreciation of the best of his contemporaries, without the support afforded him by literary fame. His distinguished descent and personal talents had not been sufficient to procure for the obscure German a post worthy of his merits, at a time when the most eminent Jewish communities chose for their Rabbis none but Polish scholars, whose studies began

<sup>1</sup> V. Horovitz, *Frankfurter Rab.*, II. 56, note 2; the words in his testimonial, אשר היה ר"מ זאב"ד בילדותו, בקי"ק ווירטשא, which Lewysohn p. 74, has only made worse by attempting to correct them by an impossible conjecture—probably contains a blunder instead of מענץ or מגנץ.

<sup>2</sup> In the Preface, p. 1b, he remarks: כי כבר הגעתי ת"ל למות נשתוין: which words have been thought worthy of being reproduced in Asulai's שם הנודלים, ed. Benjacob, I. 458.

and ended with the Talmud. But he had already become reconciled to his fate, and had humbly and quietly given up all expectations for the future. If there was anything that disturbed him, it was the thought that the continuance of learned tradition, the chain of the study of the Law, which had descended in his family from father to son, would cease with him, and his intellectual heritage would be wasted, and have nobody to accept it.<sup>1</sup> It was for this reason alone, and not with any desire for fame, that he rejoiced in the thought that the publication of the first volume of his *Responsa* had secured the safety of at least a part of his life's work.

But his day was not yet destined to draw to a close before he had scattered the seeds of his genius in the same furrows in which his father and grandfather had laboured. The belief in the re-establishment of the community at Worms, that he had foretold and continually nourished, did not prove an idle one; he was to be rewarded for the force of his faithful confidence. The Peace of Ryswick had been concluded, and the dispersed citizens and the Council that had been deliberating in exile now hurried together to re-constitute a new community from the ruins and desolation of the city.<sup>2</sup> In vain had the Lord Palatine and ruling chief justice, Johann Friedrich Seidenbender, attempted to keep out all who were not Lutherans from the new town, and in the thirty-nine articles of his memorial-letter had especially devised plans against the Jews, "how they should be allowed to die out quietly."<sup>3</sup> On the 13th of June, 1699, the treaty that sealed the admission of the Reformers

<sup>1</sup> Compare p. 1b of the Preface to *חות יאיר* and to the Index, *יאיר נתיב*.

<sup>2</sup> F. Soldau, *Die Zerstörung der Stadt Worms im Jahre 1689*, p. 47.

<sup>3</sup> Lewysohn has published the remarks of Seidenbender—not Seidenbrenner—taken from his memorial-letter, that concerns the Jews, in Frankel's *Monatsschrift*, VII., 363-7: "If we read what his opinions were," says Soldau, p. 49, "it will be evident why, during the time Worms was in the hands of the French, the Jews kept friendly with the enemy and bore so little love to their own governors."

was concluded. Nor could this permission be withheld from the Jews, who, thanks to the energetic and influential support they received from Samuel Oppenheimer, the Imperial Chief Court-Agent at Vienna, were moreover confirmed in all their privileges.<sup>1</sup> With revived courage and warm zeal the Jewish community accordingly set about re-establishing themselves. The old Synagogue, that had become a stable for the horses of the brutal soldiery who had burnt the town, and afterwards a granary for the provisions of the populace who had taken refuge therein,<sup>2</sup> had first to be attended to, and it was even white-washed inside—an act that their pious scruples had prevented them from performing at any other time.<sup>3</sup> The selection of a Rabbi for the new community, which was their foremost care, could scarcely have caused any serious doubt, or have been open to dispute. They might well consider themselves fortunate in having a shepherd close at hand who would take charge of the once more assembled flock, and to whom an old debt was still owing. With what feelings must Bacharach have accepted the post to which a generation before he had been dedicated by the blessing of his dying father, towards which he had in vain brought forward his highest aspirations and fullest strength, and which was now bestowed upon him when a mere shadow, a wreck of his former self! Certainly he must have recognised the hand of Providence in all this, that allowed him, though late in the day, yet with his own eyes to behold the chair of authority that had been sanctified for him by the legacy of his father.

Thus, he had the satisfaction of knowing that not in vain had he dreamed of the re-consolidation of the revered and

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<sup>1</sup> V. Seidenbender, quoted by Lewysohn, *ib.*, 363; G. Wolf, *Geschichte der Juden in Worms*.

<sup>2</sup> Schudt, I., 411; Lewysohn, *ib.*, 362.

<sup>3</sup> See *supra*, note 74, and Schudt, *ib.*, "After the peace of Ryswick had been concluded, the Jews forthwith renovated their Synagogue and erected a roof of slate over the vault, in order to make it look very pretty."

ancient congregation of Worms, and of being a witness of its vigorous resurrection, thanks to the resolute guidance of its leaders. The spirit of intolerance that was breathed forth, both from the council-chamber and the pulpit, against the Jews, could not check the process of their re-settlement in the town; the wardens of the synagogue had even the courage in the year 1700 to lodge a complaint with the magistrates against the inflammatory sermons of the parish priest, Johann Heinrich Mehl, and thus to preserve at least the appearance of justice, though so far from obtaining the reality, they were compelled by the Government to apologise to the clergyman in question.<sup>1</sup>

But it was to be sufficient for Bacharach to have passed the borders of his promised land, and to see only the beginning of the realisation of that which he had so earnestly longed for. After a short period of activity, on the 1st of January, 1702, in the sixty-fifth year of his age, death withdrew him from his congregation. Enfeebled by illness from his childhood, his strength consumed by grief, having been almost compelled to still his biting sorrow by incessant and exhausting mental labour, he had grown aged, before he had reached advanced years, and had spent all his powers by the time he had begun to require them for prosperous activity. True it is that both his epitaph,<sup>2</sup> and the "memorial for his soul"<sup>3</sup> that was set up for him in Worms, prove that people began, after his death, to recognise what they had lost in him, though they had not known how to keep possession of him, but the ill-fated star that had shed such a gloomy light over his whole life pursued him even beyond the grave. The distressing anxiety about the writings he would leave behind him, that had disturbed his last years, has proved itself to be well founded, for the

<sup>1</sup> Schudt, *ib.*, 421 *sqq.*

<sup>2</sup> The first words of the epitaph (Lewysohn, No. 38), before the word **הנאו מהורר ח' שמעון**, form the acrostic **ח' שמעון**.

<sup>3</sup> **קבר עלי ר' צביה**, III. 22.

rich intellectual treasures that all his life long he had accumulated and guarded with so much affection, have been scattered to the four winds, and become a prey to the destructive elements.<sup>1</sup> But even if he has not come down to posterity with all the ripe produce of his life's work, nevertheless he has become so deeply impressed upon their memory as to have his name preserved as one of the most prominent men of genius, one of the most important phenomena among the German Jews of the seventeenth century, who, though having his nature deeply rooted in the past was still in advance of his time, and who will always be regarded as the forerunner of the study of Judaism in a historical and scientific spirit.

DAVID KAUFMANN.

<sup>1</sup> Even the necessary instructions about how his MSS. should be divided into parts, which seem to have been written upon the covers of the Index, have disappeared, perhaps through careless binding. One passage has however been preserved, which M. Friedmann has already transcribed for Dr. Berliner, it runs as follows:—

ישאר ביד האפטרופטים כרך ח'  
 כרך שטרות וקנינים . יותן לבני כהן זנויל .  
 כתבי רבנות וצוואת וככה"ג יותן לבני ר"ש .  
 כרך כתבי עליו שאן בהם צורך יותן לבני כהן :

The Preface to *חות יאיר* also promises to give testamentary instructions about his works.